

EDUCATING TOWARDS SEGREGATION

When education enforces conflicting identities and normalizes social segregation for political gain

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Submitted to the Department of Political Science at the Central European University, Hungary

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

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Budapest, Hungary, 2019

ABSTRACT

Education is one of the most important experiences in one's life. As it prepares students for life in their society, it also critically shapes their social identity and perspectives on their citizens. In post-conflict multinational societies, education systems struggle to balance between the need to provide quality education and equal opportunities, and the rights of various groups to educate their own children to protect their unique group identity. These societies then end up with a segregated education system that promotes social segregation and prevent reconciliation. This thesis builds an inquiry into this field. It analyzes local interpretations of education experiences in Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina, to reconstruct how segregated education in post-conflict multinational affects students, concretely their social identity and prejudice towards the other group. In local view, local ethnonationalist leaders hijacked the consociational educational system to promote and normalize segregation for their own gain. The research also discusses the utility of the concept of a 'divided city' and rejects it as an over-stretched analytical category that misguides research with unfounded assumptions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thanks to all the friends who made Budapest and Kiralyi Pal a true home. Thanks to Antonella, Weronika, Benji & Beni, Inger-Louise, Luis and Tamas, Anett, Dóra, and Andrew for keeping me sane when insanity was about to overtake me.

Thanks to Radka for offering me her Belgrade apartment to live in while finishing my thesis.

Big shout out to Freya, Tara, and Toni, the group that forced me to write. They were harsh and kept reminding me that it is only myself who is the biggest obstacle to finishing my work. They checked on me to make sure my project is going somewhere while also making sure that I am mentally and physically alright. They read my thesis so many times and provide me with invaluable feedback. These are the people who inspired me to finish this project and not to drop out mid-way without any Masters.

Immense thanks to citizens of Mostar who welcomed me to their town and made it feel like home. This research allowed me to meet new people, learn a lot about the city and academic research, and make a couple of new friends. I feel humbled by your generosity and willingness to help. Big thanks to the staff of United World College in Mostar that helped me to identify and connect me to the right people. Massive thanks to Marea, Luka, Senija, Anamarija, and Dorontine who were always there to grab a coffee and talk.

Lastly, I would like to thank the Political Science Department for coping with me and being very accommodating. I know that my attitude and inability to submit on time made your work more difficult and I am sorry for that. Thanks to Ildiko and Tunde for all the administrative assistance. Getting into my email proved almost impossible. Thanks to Professor Sata for extremely thoughtful and thorough feedback during Thesis Workshops, I only wish that my colleagues provided such insights. Lastly, thank you Professor Bogaards for giving me so much independence. I know I have not been the easiest student to supervise, but I appreciate the amount of trust you put in me. When I needed help, you always provided reassuring words and some valuable comments.

P.S. Thanks Tara for the potato.

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Introduction

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a post-conflict multinational society that both media and academia portray as dysfunctional society split along '*entrenched ethnic divisions*' that are impossible to reconcile. (Surk, 2018) Its political system is regularly being referred to as '*the world's most complicated system of government*' (Nardelli et al, 2014) or '*institutional monster*' (Belloni, 2009, 359). The education system is then as complex as the state itself and usually depicted as a public institution '*that entrenches wartime division*' (Brkanic, 2017), where students heroically fight against ethnic segregation imposed by the system (Smith Galer, 2017, DW Documentary, 2017, Crosby, 2017). The education system then only promotes division and sends the groups against each other. Yet, the most striking example of this underlying narrative of division is the city of Mostar that is usually referred to as a '*divided city*' and placed among the ranks of Beirut, Belfast, Jerusalem, and Nicosia. (Smith Galer, 2018, Calame et al, 2012, Carabelli, 2018, Surk, 2018, Knezevic, 2018) Journalists and academics use this romanticized narrative of underlying omnipresent division in the study of the country and the city of Mostar. The post-conflict state of Bosnia and Herzegovina is then being diminished to a country where ethnic divisions define everything and this narrative continues to be perpetuated through public institutions with education in particular.

Studying, living, and volunteering in educational sector in Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina, I have interacted with many locals and I have come to question this basic assumption about the country, the city of Mostar, and its education system. This thesis challenges this essentialist narrative of divided town and educational system that actively perpetuates division.

Instead of studying the top-down education policies, textbooks, and curricula, it explores how the students, educators, and other professionals perceive the current realities of education system in Mostar and its impact on the city with a focus on the divided city narrative. It explores how education system shapes student identity and prejudice towards other groups. Instead of building research on the simplified assumption of division, it helps to reform it. It helps to conceptualize how regular citizens of Mostar perceive division of their town and the role of the education system in it. It positions local students and education experts at the center of the research to analyze their daily lived experiences of the education system to answer the following question: how does segregated education system in post-conflict democratic society affect students' identity and their prejudice vis-à-vis other groups?

Why Education?

Education is one of the major determinants of political identity of any person. (Prior, 2010, Eid, 2015, Idris et al, 2008, Sant et al, 2015, Tawil and Harley, 2004) The study of identity formation among high school students is particularly important since interest in politics and political identity of people ends forming in the late teens, and does not change significantly afterwards. (Prior, 2010) Pre-university education also deeply influences one's national, ethnic, and citizenship identity. (Eid, 2015, Idris et al, 2008, Sant et al. 2015, Tawil and Harley, 2004) Education therefore remains central to life of any political system. Both, classical Western thinkers as well as Chinese philosophers identified education as a crucial institution to promote the state and desired citizenship identity. In today's democratic societies, education does not promote a homogenous citizen identity. Instead, education serves as an institution that helps citizen realize their moral

capacity to become full-fledged citizens of equal rights. (Brighouse, 1996, Christiano, 2008, Kymlicka, 1995, 173, Rawls, 2003, 57) Its main goal is thus to give them equal chances, and ensure they perceive each other as equal. All in all, education can both strengthen and subvert social identity, and directly influence the future generations.

Education reforms evoke heated political discussions and resentment from societies across the world making education one of the most static public institutions. Decisions such as *Brown v. Board of Education* 1954 that outlawed segregation of education was one of the most heated cases in history of US Supreme Court. It remains one of the most important legal cases in front of the American Supreme Court that continues to shape the US society, legislation, and constitutional order. The inclusive education bill that allowed children with light disabilities to attend regular schools in Czech Republic led to public protests and resignation of the Education Minister, while the Hungarian decision on reforming public education led to several protests.

The role of education is even more complex in post-conflict societies. The post-conflict societies face a unique situation where former war enemies are asked to come together and form a society with a shared future. (Bakke et al, 2009, Quaynor, 2012, Weinstein et al, 2007) Yet, academics and experts from agencies such as the UNESCO also identify education as the main tool for societal reconciliation (Buckland, 2004, Clarke-Habibi, 2005, Gallagher, 2005, Grac'a, 1996, 46, Magill, 2010, 11, Paulson, 2011, Weinstein et al, 2007). Their assertion is built on the premise that education can promote deeper intercultural understanding, decrease prejudice, and consequently decrease political violence and lead to reconciliation. Architects of the education systems then have to accommodate both group rights and democratic rights of the citizens (Bieber, 2001, 110-111). On the one hand, education system faces the pressures of various group to

represent their own narratives of state, conflict, and their position in it, on the other hand, it aims to provide inclusive public service that fulfils rights of children to education and trains future citizens on the state. Ability to strike the balance between the group interests and interests of the state then becomes the crucial issues for creating an education system in a post-conflict society. The following section will introduce and justify the study in more depth.

Justification of Study

The current research on impacts of education on reconciliation, identity and prejudice in post-conflict societies faces two major drawbacks which this work tries to correct for. First, instead of focusing on students' lived experiences of the education system and its effect on them, it studies the education system itself. Some these studies focus on the institutional set-up (McCulloch, 2014, Niens and Cairns, 2005), or in case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, focus on the impacts of the Dayton Peace Agreement on the education system and consequently on identity (Aitken, 2007, Bennet, 2016, Bieber, 2001, Kofman, 2001, Ni Aolain, 2001, Sokolovic, 2001). The other studies then rather focus on the curricula design and textbooks (Baranoviće, 2001, Bartulović, 2006, Kolouh-Westin, 2004, Low-Beer, 2001, Morris and Cogan, 2001, Pasalic-Kreso, 1999, Tawil and Harley, 2004, Torsti, 2007), citizenship education (Quaynor, 2012, Sant et al, 2015), or attempt to evaluate impact of specialized reconciliation programs such as '*Education For Peace*' (Clarke-Habibi, 2005, Danesh, 2006)

The first weakness of this research is that instead of studying the impact of the education system and on the students, these studies explore education systems per se and suggest indirect causal relationship between structure of the system and student identity. They thus do not directly

measure the impact of the system on the student experience and impact on their identity. For example, Baranović (2001), Bartulović (2006), and Torsti (2007) conduct textual analysis of textbooks to propose that bigoted textbooks make bigoted students. While showing the troubled nature of the education system, this research does not measure the actual impact of textbooks and curricula on students because it does not actually engage with students directly. Instead of consulting the students or conducting surveys, it builds a speculative assumption that bigoted textbooks automatically lead to more bigoted students. This research aims to correct for this gap and explore the student experience directly.

The second weakness of these studies is the aforementioned assumption about the division and static nature of the ethnic identity. Assuming a static social identity and constant social distance trivializes and confounds the research on the impacts of education on identity. This is most visible in standardized large-n surveys (Bakke et al, 2009, Buckland, 2004, Levy, 2007, Smith, 2011, Sant et al, 2016), studies that attempt to evaluate impact of specialized reconciliation programs on the level of prejudice and division in community (Clarke-Habibi, 2005, Danesh, 2006), and content analysis research that focuses on textbook and curricula narratives. (Baranović, 2001, Bartulović, 2006, Hromazdić, 2009, Torsti, 2007) Such studies trivialize identity and levels of division to static constants, identical across diverse regions.

While such standardization helps to develop large scale comparative studies, it prevents researches from understanding more localized narratives common to divided cities. (Weinstein et al, 2009) The salience of one's identity and level of division is impacted by the direct experiences of the conflict with the other group, and the daily interactions with the other group. For example, Herzegovinian Croats in the city of Mostar will perceive themselves, the other, and the division

differently than Croats in the homogenous city of Široki Brijeg. Moreover, in case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the curriculum, textbooks, and educational policies are designed and approved on the cantonal level. The educational structures, which are usually assumed to be uniform across states, differ region to region making n-large studies difficult.

This thesis then represents an alternative to the existing research on education, identity, and social distance. Instead of focusing on institutions, textbooks, curricula, and large n-studies, this project instead focuses on the study of local experiences and narratives as suggested by Weinstein et al (2007, 66). This method me to understand the nuance between various experiences of the education system and synthesize a more holistic picture of its impact in an environment of a divided city. It takes more bottom-up approach to understand the impacts of education on a political community that builds in the local understanding of their identity and (potential) prejudices at its core. This interpretivist approach allows me to avoid the basic assumption of primordial omnipresent division and static identities, and instead builds on constructivist conceptions that identities and prejudices are created by people as reactions to the official narratives promoted by the education system.

This approach develops a model that allows for a contextualization of educational experiences in areas, such as divided cities, that are assumed to differ in character from the rest of supposedly ‘ethnically homogenous’ areas of post-conflict states. It also provides more localized understanding of social distance and identity in the city. The following section will help to expand on significance of the study and position it within the current research.

Significance of the Study for the Current Research

This research contributes both theoretically and empirically to research on education, identity, social distance, consociationalism, divided cities, and reconciliation to offer new insights on the impacts of segregated education. Conversely to the majority of the consulted literature, it offers a more localized bottom-up approach that assumes fluid ethnic identities and social distance. It avoids the top-down study of textbooks, curricula, policies, and other institutions that currently dominates this area which builds on an assumption of homogenous ethnic identity that forces research participants to identify with a predefined box. (Weinstein et al, 2007) Such top-down approach usually ends up assuming the effects of the system on the students without directly engaging with them and understanding their perceptions of it. This research corrects for this conceptual drawback and provides both three main academic contributions across these areas.

First, this study can help to expand the research on the effects of consociational institutions on identities. Consociationalism is a term coined by Arend Lijphart (1969), it refers to a liberal democracy where certain offices and/or seats in legislative bodies are awarded based on group belonging (e.g. ethnicity, nationality, religion). It aims to secure representation of all groups and prevent majority group or a coalition of smaller groups to rule over others. Voters vote for their group party, and elites are responsible for shared decision making. Lijphart argued that consociational institutions can help to mediate conflict, and consociational institutions can transform the salience of identities and increase governmental stability. Varshney (2015), Horowitz (2001), and Roeder (2009) disagree with this claim and rather suggest that consociationalism freezes ethnic identities and even reinforces them, thus aggravating the conflict. Study of the Bosnian consociational educational system helps to inform this discussion.

Second, this thesis evaluates the utility of the concept of a ‘divided city’ for academic research. Researchers, journalist, politicians, and policy experts frequently employ the concept of divided city to analyze heterogeneous cities in post-conflict countries such as Jerusalem, Nicosia, Baghdad, Beirut, and Mostar. (Calame et al, 2012, Carabelli, 2018; Hjort, 2004, Hromazdic, 2015, Kaufmann, 2006, Surk, 2018, Weinstein et al, 2007) This narrative assumes that a city is divided into two parts among two warring groups that have conflicted identities and thus want to stay segregated. It presents city’s division and salience of local identities as never-changing. Research then usually does not scrutinize the concept itself and presents it as an accepted fact to the reader, therein normalizing the idea that division defines every single aspect of life in Mostar with its citizens promoting it. This thesis examines the concept of a ‘divided city’ by comparing its narrative to a local narrative of the city’s division while assuming that both social distance and identity are fluid socially constructed phenomena. It thus offers a unique theoretical contribution by analyzing the utility of the concept of a divided city.

Third and the major empirical contribution of this study expands the research on the impact of education on social identities and social distance. Political theorists identified education as a strong institutional tool that helps states build desired national identity, it thus directly reflects political situation and underlying nation-building ideology. Aristotle’s *Politics* states that ‘...education should suit a particular constitution...’ (1998, 227), Rousseau argued that education is the most important business of the state (1997, 22). Education helps create national identity by inventing and reinforcing promoted traditions and history, which then passes to students. It uses prescribed existing social identity and aims to enforce it. (Levy, 2007, 6, Mishler, 1978, 198, Pasalic-Kreso, 2001, Torsti, 2007, Wenger, 1998) Studies on identity formation among high

schoolers (Eid, 2015, Idris et al, 2008, Levy, 2007, Quaynor, 2009, Sant et al. 2015, Weinstein et al, 2007) focused on various topics such as study of citizenship, national identity, ethnic identity, and global citizenship. Education is a tool that inoculates students with identity, this research thus helps to expand this side of research and evaluate its impact on students' identities. It offers a novel approach that analyzes localized narratives of the impacts of the education system on local identities and prejudice. Moreover, it also helps to analyze the goals of the state and its educational policies.

Thesis Structure

This thesis has five thematic chapters on top of the introduction and conclusion. Chapters one and two establish the theoretical foundations of the research and introduce the case of Mostar, chapter three outlines the methodological approach and data collection, and chapters four and five present the empirical research and its analysis. There are two appendices, Appendix A includes list of the interviewees, and Appendix B contains the original research design.

First and second chapters present consulted literature, it discuss its limitations, and position this research and its contribution within this academic space. The main focus of the first chapter is on research on education, social identity, social distance, and impact of education on identity and prejudice among students. Second chapter then explores the research on education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It tracks development of education system vis-à-vis the Bosnian conflict to familiarize reader with local specifics.

Third chapter identifies interpretivism as the theoretical approach to the empirical research and selects ethnography as the main method. It discusses the value of the method for

this research while also discussing its limitation. The chapter concludes with two sections that describe the data collection method and original research design that was banned by the local authorities.

Fourth chapter shares empirical insights from the interviews and ethnographic observation. It presents this material in three thematic subchapters that are based on the narrative patterns identified across the interviews – rejection of the divided city, segregating effects of education, and politicization of the education system. It shares empirical results via set of quotes and other insights collected during interviews and observations focusing only on presenting the general patterns in local narratives without providing deeper analytical insights.

Fifth chapter then presents the main analytical contribution of this thesis to the field. It first discusses the general finding and then splits into two main section. First section focuses on discussion of the concept of the divided town, the main theoretical contribution, rejecting it as invalid. Second section then offers answer to the main research question of the study by suggesting that education system in the country increases salience of social identities among students and social distances between other groups. It portrays the mechanism of education system that leads to the normalization of segregation. It then adds a short analysis of how political elites hijack the consociational system to their own benefit, and concludes with a narrative of division of Mostar and its outlook as interpreted by locals.

I. Theory behind Education, Identity, Prejudice

This chapter will introduce the theory on education, identity, prejudice and social distance, and then provide a short overview of research on Bosnia and Herzegovina. Pre-university school is the crucial point for identity development since adolescence is the most important stage for social identity development, particularly on citizenship, national identity, ethnic identity, and global citizenship. (Eid, 2015, Idris et al, 2008, Sant et al. 2015) It is when one's group identity and social belonging form influencing one's ethnic, state, and political identities. (Davey et al, 2003, Hjort, 2005, Jones, 2011, Prior, 2010) While education is not the only influence in students' lives, it is an important one since it can reinforce narratives of ethno-national leaders and validate them as correct. (Torsti, 2007, 91, Weinstein, 2007) Ethnic identity and prejudice against other groups mature at this age, with the peak of this development being between 16 and 19 years. (Phinney, 1992, 162) For example, Croatian high school students were found to have the highest levels of ethno-national identity in Croatia compared to adults and university students. (Ćorkalo, 2003, 88-89) While salience might decrease over time, the identity itself does not change much afterwards. (Hjort, 2005, 13; Phinney, 1992, 162; Prior, 2010) For this reason, high school students are an important demographic to study because of the impacts of the educational system on their political, ethnic, and national identity.

While various studies suggest high impact of education on social identity development of students, the empirical political science research has not studied it extensively. To my best knowledge, it has been predominantly political theorists who highlighted its importance for political identity of people. Empirical research on impacts of education on society has been mostly

done by sociologists, anthropologists, policy makers, conflict-studies and education experts. This research thus combines this interdisciplinary scholarship to build a framework to study the impacts of education on students to fill this gap in research while assuming fluid identities and prejudice.

Education and Identity: The Premise of Education and Segregation

The main premise of education in a liberal society is then to help citizens develop their moral capacity to become full-fledged participating citizens who see each other as free and equals. The core assumption of liberal citizenship is moral equality, every one thus have same rights, and same citizenship status. (Kymlicka, 1995, 173, Rawls, 2001) If we assume this egalitarian principle, then democracy must protect this equality and secure equal access to political power to every citizen. (Christiano, 2008, Brighouse, 1996) Education systems that do not teach citizens their rights fail them because these citizens then cannot enjoy their rights. (Satz, 2007, 635; Christiano, 2008, 116-117). While we should not assume that everyone will make the equal use of these rights, (Somin, 2013) the principle of equality dictates that we should at least attempt to teach each child about how to become a competent citizen of a state. Yet, today's liberal democratic states face another challenge in building an educational system that safeguards the ability of all groups to maintain themselves as independent distinct cultures, (Kymlicka, 1995, 113) while maintaining cohesiveness of a society.

Segregation defeats the initial premise of education in a liberal democratic state because it undermines equality of students. Students in segregated education systems experience lower identification with their peers leading to higher social distance between them and othering. (Danesh, 2006, Grac'a, 1996, 46, Magill, 2010, 11, Quaynor, 2012, 34, Paulson, 2011, 3, Satz,

2007, Weinstein, 2007, 47) Students then do not perceive each other as equals due to the structure of the system considering the other as a completely segregate group of citizens. The perception of not being an equal citizen undermines one's capacity to enjoy one's citizenship rights and their civic equality, and increases prejudice, and thus violates the basic tenet of education in a democratic state. (Christiano, 2008, 121)

In post-conflict societies, education is usually segregated along the conflict lines with former warring parties taking total control of education of their own children. Such practice is usually condoned by the existing peace settlements or other peace guarantees and taken as a protection of group rights. Northern Ireland, Israel and Palestine, and Bosnia and Herzegovina remain the most obvious cases of segregation. Most of the research on education in post-conflict multinational societies thus focuses on them. Hamber and Kelly (2004) identifies inability of the system to discuss the past as one of the major obstacles to reconciliation in post-conflict societies. Gallagher (2005), Niens and Cairns (2005), Paolini et al (2004), and Smith (2011) argue that institutional segregation of education in Northern Ireland promotes conflict instead of reconciliation. There has also been area research such as Bakke's study of identities in post-conflict post-Soviet states in Northern Caucasus, (Bakke et al, 2009) and comparative cross-country research on impacts of education on identity in countries with history of conflict or strong separatism (Moriss and Cogan, 2001, Sant et al. 2015, Weinstein, 2007)

Social Identity

Identity politics and other research that uses identity as a major research variable experience explosion in past two decades. However, this identity research did not establish a unified concept

of social identity, which remains quite an ambiguous concept that makes it difficult to measure, standardize, and compare. (Abdelal et al, 2009, 9; Sinnott, 2005; Stover and Weinstein, 2004) Identity is a fluid marker that changes depending on interactions between the self and society, and people hold multiple identities at the same time. (Alwin et al, 2006, 533, Brady and Kaplan, 2009, 33; Citrin and Sears, 2009, 172, Sylvan and Metskas, 2009, 82) This research uses the constructivist notion of identity and focuses only on two areas of collective group identity, ethnic and state, because these are the most impacted types of identity in post-conflict education systems.

Abdelal defines “*collective identity as a social category that varies along two dimensions – content and contestation. Content describes the meaning of a collective identity...Contestation refers to the degree of agreement within a group over the content of the shared identity.*” (Abdelal et al, 2009,19) This definition establishes group identity as a relation to in-group and out-group members of the society, and closely follows Tajfel’s (1981) classical definition of social identity as “*part of an individual’s self-concept that derives his or her knowledge of membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership.*” Definitions of ethnic and state identity in this study will follow these two definitions of social identity. Laura L. Adams summarizes identity as “*reflexive self-understanding of group belonging.*” (Adams in Abdelal et al, 2009, 316) Therefore, social identity is a subjective and individual understanding of belonging to a group that is also dependent on relation to other groups.

Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity is one of the most studied parts of identity and it has been receiving a lot of attention in identity politics. Everyone has ethnic identity and people also ascribe ethnic identity to others based on their external characteristics. (Phinney, 1992, 162; Valk and Karu, 2011, 583-584) The

studies mostly focus on multicultural societies such as the USA and Canada, diaspora studies, and post-conflict societies. The concept of ethnic identity suffers from ambiguity and concept stretching. To avoid confusion, this section provides a short discussion of ethnic identity.

First, there is the confusion between ethnicity and ethnic identity. While ethnicity inherited from one's parents, ethnic identity refers to a constructed identity that a person holds of themselves. (Brady and Kaplan, 2009, 33, Čorkalo, 2003, 87; Hjort, 2004, 8; Tajfel, 1981) The one influences the other, but the latter is constructed throughout life. Moreover, ethnic identity needs a reference point of the other group, and changes depending on the relationship of one's own group to other group. For example, the identities in immigrant neighborhoods change depending on the current group composition. (Milk et al, 2005, 177) It is a multi-faceted identity marker that can combine feelings to one's own nation, their own group, and other groups. (Čorkalo, 2003, 87) It is not primordial and fixed as suggested by Kaplan (1993) and Huntington (1993) in their initial analysis of the Bosnian conflict, instead it is flexible and changes depending on situation.

Despite this ambiguity, ethnic identity has two major components. Phinney's seminal work on ethnic identity then used Tajfel's group theory of definition to study ethnic identity across different groups and identified it as a continuous variable composed of three inter-correlated latent variables: "*positive ethnic attitudes, ethnic identity achievement (exploring and resolving ethnic identity issues), and ethnic behaviors,*" (Phinney, 1992, 169), factor analysis then showed that these components are a single factor. (Valk and Karu, 2011, 585) This paradigm became widely used among researchers to study ethnic identity. (Bakke et al, 2009; Citrin and Sears, 2009; Valk and Karu, 2011; Levy, 2007; Sylvan and Metskas, 2009) Valk and Karu then deepened Phinney's scale by breaking the measure of ethnic identity into two different groups: ethnic pride describing

one's relation to the group, and ethnic differentiation describing the want to be different from other groups. (Valk and Karu, 2011, 596)

Valk and Karu define ethnic identity as “(a) a combination of attitudes toward one's group of origin and its common cultural practices and (b) one's feeling of attachment to the group.” (2011, 584) The definition thus does not stray far from social group definition and shows that ethnic identity is a subsection of one's social identity based on self-identification. (Citrin and Sears, 2009, 147) This thesis will use a more succinct definition that encompasses both ethnic pride and ethnic differentiation. Ethnic identity is then a “national and ethnic identity as social identities defined by perceptions of similarity with some and difference from others.” (Citrin and Sears, 2009, 146-147)

State/National Identity

Similar to ethnic identity, state or citizenship identity is part of social identity. To a reader, this might sound like a definition of national identity. Ethnic identity literature focusing on Western multicultural societies usually uses the term national identity instead of state identity. This literature usually focuses on the conflict between national and ethnic identity especially in regard to minorities, immigrants, and diasporas. For example, Citrin and Sears (2009) and Milk et al, (2005) study the conflict between ethnic and national identities in the United States, Brady and Kaplan (2009) study the clash between ethnic and national identity in post-Soviet space, Lee (2009) combines ethnic and racial identity into one in his study of the United States. The clash between ethnic and state identity is understood as an undermining factor that weakens national identity and the state itself. (Bakke et al, 2009 231; Citrin and Sears, 2009, 168)

This research purposefully does not use the term national identity to refer to belonging to a state since in Balkans and Bosnia and Herzegovina, national identity and ethnic identity are widely perceived as one. (Čorkalo, 2003, 86; Majstorović and Turjačanin, 2013, 88) Some researchers even refer to ethnic identity as ethno-national or national identity and vice versa. (Čorkalo, 2003, Levy, 2007) Nationality in the west refers to one's citizenship, while in Bosnia and Herzegovina it refers to one's ethnicity, and it is one's state identity that refers to citizenship. This division reflects the understanding of national identity in Balkans more in cultural-ethnic terms than in civic terms. Therefore, state identity in this research reflects what Western reader understands as national identity. I again use Citrin and Sears' definition to demarcate state identity as "*national and ethnic identity as social identities defined by perceptions of similarity with some and difference from others.*" (Citrin and Sears, 2009, 147) While ethnic identity refers to attachment to one's ethnic group, state identity refers to attachment to one's state.

Segregation and Prejudice

This short section introduces reader to the concepts of social distance and contact theory. While social distance is a concept that helps to measure prejudice and closeness to other groups, contact theory is a normative assumption that suggests that heightened contact among groups decreases prejudice.

Social Distance

Social distance as a measure of prejudice is a concept developed by Emory S. Bogardus in 1924, it was used to measure "*degrees and grades of understanding and feeling that persons experience regarding each other.*" (Bogardus, 1925, 1) Bogardus uses it to study relations between different ethnic groups in the United States. He developed series of yes/no questions that would indirectly

measure prejudice towards other groups. Since then, his scale underwent modifications and remains to be widely used until today to measure prejudice and social distance in different areas of research. (Wark and Galliher, 2007)

Social distance can be understood as a subsection of ethnic identity studies since it helps to understand one's relation to their own group. (Brady and Kaplan, 2009, 34) Yet, some studies show no clear relationship between strong ethnic identity and increased prejudice to other groups. (Valk and Karu, 2001, 596) Most importantly, social distance estimates prejudice towards other groups and proxy to measure readiness to accept others in one's own society and perceive them as equals. (Hjort, 2004; Paolini, 2004, Stover and Weinstein, 2004, 46) Social distance is then a concept that helps to deepen study of ethnic identity, but it has its own unique analytical benefits. This paper will adopt the Majstorović and Turjančanin's wording of Bogardus' definition of social distance: "*...as an empirical measure of people's willingness to engage in various forms of social contacts of different degrees of closeness with members of diverse social groups.*" (Majstorović and Turjačanin, 2013, 140) In this thesis, social distance helps to understand prejudice towards other groups.

Contact Theory

The contact theory was first proposed by Allport in 1954, and it argues that increased social contact among different groups decreases their prejudice towards each other. The field has since expanded and meta-analysis of 516 studies on contact theory showed that 95% of them show negative relationship between contact and prejudice. (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006) While the theory was proved correct in most cases, with high heterogeneity of effects - e.g. majority groups experience higher decrease of prejudice towards minorities. (Pettigrew, 2007, 188) Therefore, inter-group

contact leads to decrease in prejudice, with variations resulting according to the situation and group. In post-conflict societies and education, it was showed that increased individual contacts can lead to lower social distance and reconciliation despite the backdrop of ongoing intergroup conflict. (Danesh, 2006, Grac'a, 1996, 46, Magill, 2010, 11, Quaynor, 2012, 34, Paolini et al, 2004, 784, Paulson, 2011, 3, Satz, 2007, Stover and Weinstein, 2004, 46) High school students in Northern Ireland that formed friendships across the divided groups show lower levels of prejudice. (Gallagher, 2005, Paolini et al, 2004, 784)

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the increased contact and building friendships across groups promotes lower social distance and prejudice. (Hjort, 2004, 34; Levy, 2007, 25; Stover and Weinstein, 2007, 46) Gagnon (2004) showed that Croats and Serbs from multiethnic municipalities develop different identities than their counterparts in mono-ethnic locations, while Levy found that students at schools that had a dominant and a minority group following one curricula had decreased prejudice as compared to mono-ethnic schools. Interestingly, students studying in mono-ethnic schools in mono-ethnic municipalities had lower social distance and prejudice than students in mono-ethnic schools in multi-ethnic divided cities. (Levy, 2007, 25-26)

II. From Integrated Yugoslav Education to Segregation Enforced by a Peace Treaty

This chapter gives a short overview of the development of Bosnian education vis-à-vis the conflict. In post-conflict societies such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, the conflict remains a strong formative experience even if students did not live through it. (Ćorkalo, 2003, 91) Each group then tries to dominate education policy because they want the schooling to reflect their own narrative of the conflict and state. (Bekerman et al, 2009, 228; Levy, 2007, 2) It is therefore important to understand its impacts on the education system.

The Yugoslav break-up, following Bosnian War of 1992-1995 and its aftermath continue to define Bosnian society, politics, and education until today. Until 1992, there was one integrated curriculum with Serbo-Croatian, also called '*mjesanac*,' as the language of instruction that promoted a unified Yugoslav identity revolving around glorification of Tito and partisans. (Weinstein et al, 2007, 62) The system promoted diversity as a positive value for community, and downplayed nationalism, even completely omitting Bosniaks as a separate national identity. (Hromazdic, 2009, 49)

Yet, it only created a superficial sense of Yugoslav identity that was atop of quite prominent national identities. (Bartulovic, 2006, 55-56) Up until the beginning of the conflict, education intentionally ignored any discussion of ethnic or national identity except the official glorification of Yugoslav unity. The Bosnian War was the biggest military conflict in Europe since World War II. In a country of a formerly 4.3 million, it displaced 2.2 million people, led to deaths of 100.000 people, and created deep social divides. (Babic, 2011, Hromazdic, 2015) 100.400 people remain

internally displaced until today, and the total population is only at 3.8 million. (IDMC, 2017) It completely tore apart the once integrated society into three almost fully segregated groups. (Hromadzic, 2015, 11-14)

However, the deep ethnic segregation did not exist before the war. The initial academic reactions spearheaded by Kaplan (1993) and Huntington (1993) diminished the conflict to a clash between three warring tribes. This narrative was then picked up by the world leaders such as the US President Bill Clinton and the UK PM John Major. (Baker, 2015, 58) While Yugoslav identity could not trump national identities, the society itself was not deeply divided. (Gagnon, 2004, Hromadzic, 2015, Majstorović and Turjačanin, 2013, 9) In a 1990 poll, 70% of the Bosnian population supported a ban on ethnic parties, and the 1990 elections saw ethnic political elites run together on the same ballot. (Gagnon, 2004, 33, Stojanovic, 2014) People did not want to vote for the old political elites and extreme nationalists, so elections led to a victory of moderate nationalist parties. (Stojanovic, 2014) Therefore, trivializing the conflict to ethnic hatreds is an oversimplification.

The conflict triggered the segregation of education that was later institutionalized and legitimized by the Dayton Peace Accords (DPA). While most entities deprioritized education during the war, the parties in the Bosnian war introduced new curricula and textbooks, the Bosniaks even imported books from Slovenia since there was no functioning printing house in territories controlled by them. (Torsti, 2007, 78) The war thus started the segregation of the education system along the ethnic lines. (Bartulovic, 2006, 52) The DPA then created a consociational democratic regime that recognized Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats as three constituent people that each had total control over their education, thus cementing the war segregation. (Dayton Peace Accords, 1995)

The DPA also establishes right of each child to study in their own language, thus using the human rights framework to legitimize the segregation. In its attempt to accommodate all three nations to create peace, the DPA also made conflicting promises to each group (Kofman, 2001, 62), that allow education to avoid any controversial topics – such as the Srebrenica genocide or territorial disputes among Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia. (Malik, 2000) Bosnian Croats follow a Croatian curriculum, Bosnian Serbs follow a Serbian curriculum, and Bosniaks follow a Bosnian curriculum.

The DPA did not only segregate education but also completely decentralized its administration. The highest political position is the Office of the High Representative that is appointed by the international guarantors of the DPA. The country has three presidents – one for each constituent peoples, two political entities, one special self-governing unit, and more ministers per capita than any other country. There is no national curriculum and state has almost no right to intervene in education policy. (Bieber, 2001, 114) There is no country-level ministry of education, instead, there are 13. The DPA divided country into three political entities in the country: Republika Srpska, (pink color on Figure 1) Brčko District, (light green on Figure 1) and Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (all the remaining areas labeled as cantons on Figure 1). The first two have a single ministry each; the Federation has 11 (one for each canton and one overall). (Jones, 2011, 85)



Figure 1 Map of administrative division of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Republika Srpska is in pink, Brčko District in green on top of the map, the remaining cantons create the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Mostar is located in southern canton Herzegovina-Neretva canton. Source: Panonian (2014)

Republika Srpska and each canton within the Federation have almost complete autonomy over education in their territory and approve different local curricula and sets of textbooks. Therefore, students following the Bosnian curricula in one canton follow slightly different study plan and textbooks than students in other cantons, causing education to be called by some as a major obstacle to reconciliation of the country. (Hromazdic, 2015, 43, Tveit et al, 2014) Local ministries thus have total power over education and narratives that students follow in the classroom. The

DPA that was meant as a temporary measure remains the official Constitution until today legitimizing and institutionalizing the educational segregation.

While the international actors attempted to de-nationalize the education, the 1997 Bonn Conference instead led to proclaiming most of the pre-university subjects such as history, literature, and geography as subjects of vital national interest and gave each group total control over their curriculum design. (Baranović, 2001, 15-16, Bartulović, 2006, 54) In 1999, there was an intervention to remove objectionable material from textbooks, for example references to Croatia as the home country in Croatian textbooks. (Torsti, 2007, 80-81)

Yet, they only involved blacking out of the objectionable material which rather inspired students to seek out these censored information. (Weinstein et al, 2007, 53) Only in 2002, the Office of the High Representative abolished dual administration of education in mixed cantons. (Levy, 2007, 10) The education system remains a tool for ethnic elites to promote their own ethnonationalist agenda and normalize division. (Bartulović, 2006, 65, Hromazdic, 2009, 47, Pasalic-Kreso, 1999, 12, Torsti, 2007, 91) The consociational DPA created a structure that protects these changes under the pretense group rights protection.

The segregation and othering are directly visible in textbook and curriculum framing. The history books for example mostly focus on history of the individual groups and their nations and do not include historiography of the country except for the Bosniaks that attempt to create a narrative of an integrated state. (Baranović, 2001, Bartulović, 2006, Torsti 2007) Bartulovic (2006) shows that Serbian textbooks portray Serbs as the innocent nation that suffered at hands of Bosniak Islamist fundamentalists and Croatian clero-fascists. Baranović (2001) shows that each curriculum highlights nation's own history, downplays the history of the other two, and avoids any

mention of the conflict with any wars portrayed as defensive. Torsti (2007) shows that Croats portray Serbs as perpetrators of violence that want to dominate the Balkans, Serbs blame Islam and the Catholic church for the break-up of Yugoslavia, and Bosniaks mention Serbs as Chetniks and Croats as Ustašas.

Moreover, Croatian curricula and its books are developed by the State of Croatia, Bosnian books and curricula are developed by the State of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbian curricula and books come from Serbia. (Weinstein, 2007, 53) Neighboring states thus directly impact on the Bosnian education system. The education system avoids any critical discussions and students are left to believe there are three different versions of truth. (Baranoviće, 2001, 24, Hromaždić, 2009, Weinstein, 2007, 45) Each of the curricula directly reflects what narratives individual ethnic political leaders, from Bosnia and Herzegovina or abroad, want to pass to the students.

The attempts of international actors to introduce alternative frameworks of education did not bring much effect. Most of these programs focus on active promotion of reconciliation through universal values of human rights and peace. (Clarke-Habibi, 2005, Danesh, 2006) For example, the Education for Peace Program (EFP) aimed at building stability, interethnic understanding, and long-lasting peace. (OSCE, 2008, 4) According to the OSCE: *“The EFP Program stands out as a unique contribution to the development and progress of the society of BiH.”* since it had been adopted by all three groups across all schools in 2008. (OSCE, 2008, 5) Programs such as EFP however showed a little effect or no effect, scholars criticized it for being too abstract for students to be able to engage with. (Pasalic-Kreso, 2001, 8, Quaynor, 2012, 34, Weinstein et al 2007)

All in all, the education system is broken. It does not promote democratic equality; but rather magnifies the nationalist politics of division that make students treat each other as unequal

and sometimes even train them to be citizens of the two neighboring countries. While the DPA establishes a shared citizenship, the education system rather promotes three different citizenship and ethnic identities that are at conflict with each other. This thesis thus helps to understand what effect education system has on Mostarian students, particularly their understanding of their own identity as defined by their relationship to the other group.

III. Interpretivism and Political Ethnography

Due to the main interpretivist assumption about identity and prejudice, this research builds on the paradigm of hermeneutic phenomenology and uses ethnographic methods such as participant observation, in-depth interviews, and group interviews, to provide empirical insights. Hermeneutic phenomenology assumes that social phenomena are highly subjective and their understanding is interpretative. This approach studies ethnicity and identity as human constructs. (Yanow, 2003, 260-261) It then examines social phenomena by attempting to understand lived human experience of individuals through their own perceptions and interpretations. (Prasad Kafle, 2011, 186, Lavery, 2003, 22, Schatz, 2009, 13)

This approach recognizes that individuals are unable to remove themselves from prejudices to provide objective information on the phenomena and thus allows for different interpretations of the same experience. (Lavery, 2003, 25-26, Yanow, 2003, 12) It focuses on personal stories, anecdotes, and analysis of patterns among perceptions and interpretations of different subjects, (Prasad Kafle, 2011, 190) It thus allows to observe and document observations of unmeasurable variables such as body language, tone of the voice, and other social interactions, and provides necessary flexibility for data collection to allow subjects to share what is important for them instead of being led by direct inquiry. (Lavery, 2003, 29) The data then needs to be collected “...*by one or more of three methods: observing/participating, interviewing, and reading documents.*” (Yanow, 2003, 11)

Such research paradigm then allows this paper to approach identity and prejudice as highly fluid and subjective concepts without the need to assume static identities and essentialist divisions.

Building on these assumptions, this thesis uses the tools of political ethnography, which has been identified as one of the five most common approaches to study of identity among surveys, content analysis, cognitive mapping, and experiments. (Abdelal et al, 2009) This chapter then introduces ethnographical research, its limitations, case selections, and overview of data collection. It also introduces the original research design that was banned by the local government for reference.

Ethnographic Tools

Ethnography as a research method has been shunned by political science as non-objective due to its inability to produce measurable data and test falsifiable hypotheses, making positivist research casi untenable. (Schatz, 2009, Yanow, 2003, De Volo in Schatz, 2009) However, ethnography directly fits the focus of this work, which is to test assumptions and findings of the previous research against normative interpretations of local people who directly experience it in their daily lives, and create new knowledge. (Adams in Abdelal et al, 2009, Schatz, 2009, Wedeen in Schatz, 2009, 85)

Ethnographic research enables to avoid predefined analytical categories. Using a preformed understanding of identity risks falling into the trap of forcing subjects to identify with a predefined analytical category that they have not internalized as their identity and create generalizations that might not reflect local contexts. (Adams in Abdelal et al, 2009, 316, Allina-Pisano in Schatz, 2009, 70, Jourde in Schatz, 2009, Schatz, 2009, 7, Schatzberg in Schatz, 2009, Wedeen, 2010, 259) Assumption of subjective identity thus requires ethnographic interpretative methods since purely positivist research would ignore subjectivity and context specificity of this variable since it assumes generalizability of the gathered data that does not reflect on lived

experiences. (Adams in Abdelal et al, 2009, 341, Jourde in Schatz, 2009, Yanow, 2003, 10) Ethnography thus helps to ground knowledge within local epistemologies and decrease the impact of generalizations to resemble the local truth closer with special focus on how local actors live through political experience. (Schatz, 2009, 9, Wedeen in Schatz, 2010, 85)

Moreover, due to unavailability of data and inability to collect them, ethnography provides an alternative data collection technique. It allows to build empirical research on regular conversations, observed behaviors, and interactions with studied subjects. (Schatz, 2009, 11, Wedeen, 2010, 256) Ethnography is a research that entails “...*participant-observation, interviews, and other research methods that require sustained interactions with informants in situ.*” (Adams in Abdelal et al, 2009, 317) It thus allows to collect more subjective data that traditional surveys fail to capture. (De Volo in Schatz, 2009, 218, Walsh in Schatz, 2009, 169) While it focuses on interpretative meanings and requires a high degree of flexibility, this ethnographic research avoids reliance on pure subjective reflection and offers a structured and well-designed research guided by Schatz’s “*ethnographic sensibility*”. (Schatz, 2009, Wedeen, 2010, 258) Ethnography thus offers a strong set of tools that capture the impacts of education on local identity and prejudice. Moreover, it allows subjects to define identity and prejudice on their own terms without refraining to predefined terms and thus be reiterative and flexible. This research then uses participant-observation and interviews as the main method of data collection.

Limitations

There are three main limitations to ethnography as a method that I attempted to avoid and control for. Those are lacking representativeness participants, low external validity, and potential

subjectivity of the research. Due to the nature of ethnography, I have not pursued randomized sample and pursued purposive sampling to illustrate the lived experiences across Mostar. I have carefully identified the main stakeholders in education in Mostar such as Education Ministry workers, NGO and Foundation employees, Teachers and School staff, Students, and other people directly involved in education. I have also found interviewees of different ages from all three ethnicities and various mixed backgrounds that have attended diverse range of schools in Mostar. While this method allowed me to engage with a wide variety of expert stakeholders and students, I mostly interacted with educated english speaking citizens of Mostar. There were a few interviews that were partially conducted in the local language, but I was unable to engage with less-educated citizens, right-wing representatives, or members of local political parties.

The second limitation is the low external validity of ethnographic research. (Adams in Abdelal et al, 2009, 319) The original aim of this work was to used mix methods as suggested by Yanow (2003) that would compare ethnographic findings to surveys conducted at local schools. Despite support from the schools, the local Ministry of Education banned this research as highly inappropriate without any explanation. (Ministry of Education of Herzegovina-Neretva Canton, 2018) There is also no publicly available data that I could compare my results to. I was thus unable to use mix methods. To partially correct for this limitation, I compare my empirical findings with previous research.

Subjectivity as the third limitation is inherent to the nature of ethnographic research. Ethnographic research is highly interpretative and reflective because author becomes directly involved with the studied subjects. (Adams in Abdelal et al, 2009, 325, Doty, 2010, Wedeen, 2010, Schatz, 2009) I have lived in the city of Mostar for two years between 2009 and 2011, directly

worked with one of the local education institutions over past three years, visited regularly since 2011, and built close friendships with many locals. In my interactions with locals in Mostar, I have had to be completely aware of my impact on the research, and to avoid subjectivity in place of interpretation. To do this, I have checked that interactions and interviews are cohesive, prepared a set of questions, carefully identified research participants, and to have as informed view on local contexts as possible. This research does not claim full neutrality, instead, it acknowledges my role as a researcher a part of the study and recognizes impossibility of separation from studied contexts. (Allina-Pisano in Schatz, 2009, 55, Doty, 2010, Schatz, 2009, 15) This method allowed me understand the problem from a different perspective compared to traditional studies, understand how locals perceive political realities around them, and collect data which is impossible to gather via regular methods.

Case Selection

I will now explain the choice of city of Mostar as the focus of study. Bosnia and Herzegovina presents a unique case of post-conflict multinational state where one can study the effects of education on identity and prejudice directly. In order to limit the effects of confounding external variables caused by fragmented education system and diverse environmental settings (e.g. exposure to other ethnicities, HDIs, conflict history), I have decided to follow most-similar research design and narrow the research to one canton and consequently one municipality only. (Anckar, 2008, 389) While large-n studies such as Levy (2007) increase external validity by inflating the sample, they lose explanatory power by not accounting for differences among locations. To make the intended study of divided societies and cities, the region needs to be diverse

with approximately balanced ethnic balance. I analyzed the ethnic composition of the country and narrowed the selection to one canton.

First, the two entities, Republika Srpska and Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina have very different ethnic composition. While the former is dominated by one group since 81.51% of the population identifies as Serbian (blue on Figure 2) 13.99% identifies as Bosniak (green on Figure 2), and 2.41% identifies as Croat (orange on Figure 2), the latter has 70.4 % Bosniaks, 22.44% Croats, and 2.55% Serbs. (Census, 2013, 54)

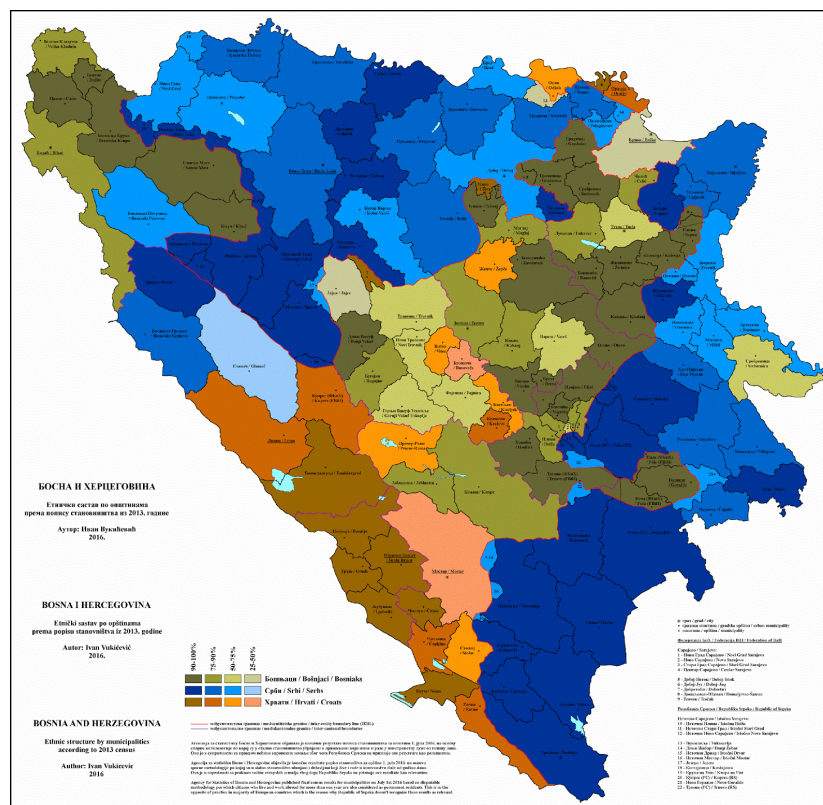


Figure 2 Map of municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and their ethnic composition.

SOURCE: Tresnjevo (2016)

In Republika Srpska, 62 out of 64 municipalities have Serbs as the dominant group with more than 50% of the population as showed in dark blue on the Figure 2, 1 has more than 50% Bosniaks, and one has no clear majority (Vukosavlje). Out of Federation's 79 municipalities, only 50 have a clear Bosniak majority (dark green on the Figure 2), 22 are dominated by Croats (dark orange on the Figure 2), and 3 by Serbs, while 4 municipalities have no clear majority. (Census, 2013) These four mixed municipalities are Glamoč, Jajce, Busovača, and Mostar. I have picked Mostar for two major reasons: size and diversity of the education system, and label of divided city.

The size of Mostar allowed me to interview locals with diverse educational experiences and more varied ethnic background. Mostar is the fourth biggest city in the country and the unofficial capital of Herzegovina. It is a city of high historical and political importance for the country. Today, Mostar remains as one of the last major diverse cities in the country with roughly equal ethnic composition forcing citizens to engage with the other group on daily basis. While Education Ministry is not allowed to gather statistics on ethnic composition of students, in academic year 2018/2019, the canton itself had 11,000 students following Bosniak curriculum and 13,500 following the Croatian curriculum. (Interview 1, 2018) Such environment leads to different development of social identities because of the direct exposure to the othering group. (Gagnon, 2004, Schatz, 2009) Mostar thus offers rich grounds for study of the impacts of education on identity and prejudice.

Moreover, Mostar has been labeled as a divided city by scholars and politicians alike deeply altering global perceptions of it. (BBC, 2018, Calame and Charlesworth, 2009, Carabelli, 2018, New York Times, 2018, Radio Free Europe, 2018, Kaufmann, 2006) While the degree of division exists as visible through city's inability to hold municipal elections since 2008, this

research also questions the nature of the label and its impact on research. It helps to identify the true impacts of the ethnic diversity on identity and prejudice in such divided cities.

Data Collection

I have conducted 18 in-depth interviews with wide variety of stakeholders from different educational and professional backgrounds. The overall aim was to provide as diverse variety of local views to reconstruct the most comprehensive local narrative of perceptions of education, prejudice, and the concept of divided city. These interviews lasted from 45 minutes to over 90 minutes and were conducted via Skype or in person. They were conducted between April 2018 and October 2018. All names have been exchanged for a pseudonym because of several requests for anonymity, the overall list of anonymized interviewees is in Appendix A.

Instead of following a clear homogeneous structure, I have rather let interviewees lead the interview so they can build the narrative. (De Volo in Schatz, 2009, Schatz, 2009, Wedeen, 2010) I have used the previous research on Bosnia and Herzegovina, education, and identity to construct a set of interview areas that I wanted to cover. I then prepared a set of questions that I used to facilitate the interview if the interviewee diverged from the topic. These areas were however explored in a very flexible manner depending on the individual interviewees. The diversity of interviewee's background resulted in collection of extremely diverse set of information that however had repeating patterns described in the following sections offering very contemporary and localized understanding of the issues.

I have combined these interviews with direct observations and interactions with local students and education staff via social media and in Mostar. I used my own observations from

when I lived in Mostar between 2009 and 2011, and from my consequent visits between 2011 and 2018. It was mostly collected during regular daily interactions, interviews, work with local education institution, personal visits to people's homes, or participation at diverse local events. This data predominantly focused on their lifestyles, comparison between the groups, and in-group and out-group interactions. These observations allowed me to complemented data collected during the interviewing and helped me to best portray the local interpretations and narratives of their daily lived experiences that complements the extant research on textbooks, curricula, and other existing education institutions. (Adams in Abdelal et al, 2009, Schatz, 2009, Wedeen in Schatz, 2009, Weinstein et al, 2007) It thus offers a novel approach to study on the impacts of education on social identity of students, social distance among them, and its effects on the overall city of Mostar and its political life.

Original Research Design

This final research is a reiteration of the previous unfinished study. The original research plan included both complemented interviewing and ethnography with small-scale surveys to offer combined methods approach. (Wedeen, 2010) I have designed close-end surveys that were to be performed at three high schools in Mostar. Despite the support from local schools and staff, the surveys were banned by the cantonal Ministry of Education as highly inappropriate deeming the original research method inapplicable. (Ministry of Education, 2018) Parts of this original methodology along with the surveys are attached in Appendix B. Due to this ban on my research imposed by local political bodies, I was only able to conduct the ethnographical research that was

expanded to compensate for the missing surveys. I hope to complement the current research with these surveys.

IV. Local Interpretations of Division

Mostar usually captures the international and Bosnian media as an extant symbol of division that Bosnia and Herzegovina hopes to overcome to be a successful country. The Old Bridge is romanticized as a symbol of unity that bridges the Western Catholic Croat Side and Eastern Muslim Bosniak. When I moved to the city in 2009, I was immediately alerted by more senior classmate of local habits and traditions. When ordering coffee, I was taught to say ‘kava’ on the Western Side and ‘kafa’ on the Eastern Side, for bread – it was ‘hljeb’ and ‘kruh’ unless one went to a bakery owned by Albanians, and when showing the number three with my fingers I was to use index, middle, and ring fingers instead of my thumb, index, and middle fingers not to be confused for a Serb.

Although as a foreigner, I was shielded from most of these local precautions. My classmates from Bosnia and Herzegovina would change names when crossing the sides not to be identified as the other. One Serbian classmate from Pale¹ picked the name Sheherezade from Tales of 1000 and One Night when crossing to the other side. She had not met many Muslims in her life and did not know any appropriate Bosniak names. My classmate from Široki Brijeg, predominantly Croatian town 30-minute ride from Mostar, saw his first mosque when he moved to the city to attend our school. The football matches between the two rivaling clubs from opposite sides , our classes ended early and we were not allowed to leave our boarding house because of the history of

¹ Predominantly Serbian town in Bosnia close to Sarajevo

violent clashes between the two sides. There were Croat and Bosniak cafes, one hospital on each side, segregated schooling system, and two bus stations with completely different schedules. As a foreigner, I embraced these divisions as the new reality and glorified my alien status as a free pass to go anywhere.

My understanding of Mostar was almost identical to the narrative of essential omnipresent division that dominates both the academic research in the media within and outside the country. Mostar where both groups cross freely into the zone of the other without need to cross checkpoints, walls, or UN protected borderline continues to be included in lists of divided cities among Belfast, Nicosia, and Jerusalem. The latest article from New York Times holds the title “*In Bosnia, Entrenched Ethnic Divisions Are a Warning to the World*” and introduced Mostar as a symbol of the never-ending division of the country. (Surk, 2018) My contacts in Bosnia and Herzegovina however rejected article as uninformed misrepresentation of the country. Some of the people that I engaged with Meri, young woman in education NGO sector, opposing it as “...*one-sided and biased...*”, and another Serbian student in late teens saying:

“Is it possible that this is the third article in a month by the New York Times on Bosnia and Herzegovina? Is it possible that they still couldn't get a reporter from the area who would be able to understand everything a bit better? Is it possible that the publication is still publishing articles with zero news-worthiness? Three past articles were not related to any event in particular but simply to the state of the country. It feeds on sensationalisation, and above all the reporter doesn't understand half of the facts...”

Once in Mostar, I was discussing my research with several local teachers over a coffee near to the Spanish Square that lies directly on the division line in the city. My friends saw Sam, young Croat educator and activist in her late 20s, and invited her to join us. She teaches at a school in Mostar, and organizes Mostar Summer Youth Program, local summer program for youth. Sam

could not join, but I quickly introduced her to my research mentioning research on divided cities, she shook her head with disapproval and exclaimed that “*Mostar is not a divided city.*” She told me to question this assumption about the city and then agreed to an interview for the next week.

Experiences such as these along with in-depth interviews with locals who move inside the education space or study in the city provided me with building blocks for reconstruction of local narratives of education, division, and identity. While my experience along with these two anecdotes do not represent the holistic understanding of Mostarian narrative of impacts of education on identity and social distance, they resonate with other interviews in the research and highlight the discrepancy between the dominant global narrative and local understanding of it. This chapter introduces empirical insights and direct quotes from the interviews and participant observation and their basic analysis based on three observed themes: narrative of a divided city, segregation of education, and political instrumentalization of the education system.

Integrating city versus segregating education

In 2015, the local branch of Radio Free Europe released a TV show called *Perspektiva* that conducted group discussions with students from Mostar that shocked the country. It became a quick symbol of Mostar’s division after one of the Croat student said that he never visited the Old Bridge because he is afraid of the people on the other side that have ‘*dark skin*’, they are ‘*dangerous*’, and they could potentially kill him. (Mebius film, 2015) Soon after it was aired, the local Ministry of Education banned any researchers and journalists from interviewing and engaging with students at local schools without its explicit consent. Based on my experience with the Ministry that banned my research, I took this new rule as an attempt to prevent researchers

from researching the issues of education system and prejudice that could potentially help this divided city to reconcile.

However, Barbara, Bosniak employee of the local Education Ministry and a former member of the local parliament that actively volunteers with several local schools, described the video with Ante as an overblown misrepresentation of the city's division. She then stated that "*I always say that Bosnian Muslims are ethnic and authentic Europeans that accepted Islam. My husband is blond as you*" and described that after they moved to Germany, they were exposed to similar prejudiced behavior when people did not believe that her husband is a Muslim because he is blond. (Interview 7, 2018) She nodded in disbelief, and rather described it as unfortunate with Ante being the victim because "*...somebody just taught him this prejudice that Muslims are darker and dangerous*". (Interview 7, 2018) Instead of approaching his words as symbols of the eternal divide of the city and his words as representation of what all non-Muslims think, she described it a prejudice that is present across many communities and not just Mostar. She then highlighted how Mostarians took the situation with a grain of salt and created a Facebook group that reached out to Ante, invited him for a coffee and a tour of the Old Bridge. She described this effort as "*super*" because it allowed Ante to hang out with people that he never had a chance to meet. (Interview 7, 2018)

When I mentioned the interview with Ante to Filip, self-identified Mostarian Bosniak history teacher from Konjic, he laughed at it. He told me that Mostarians mock the video and rather see it as a public stunt of a controversial reporter who tried to gain attention using word of an uneducated teenager to build a fake scandal. (Interview 12, 2018) He challenged the traditional view of Mostar as "*...external narrative of divided city*" and rather described it as a city that is

becoming more diverse and integrated. Conversely, he pointed out that Sarajevo that is usually described as diverse melting point “...*is declining as multiethnic diverse city...*” with non-Bosniaks moving out, overall loss of open-mindedness, and increasing influences from conservative Muslim leaders supported by funds from Turkey and Middle East. He then said that Mostar is “...*one of the last multiethnic communities in the country...*” and suggested that Sarajevans refuse to acknowledge this change towards being mono-ethnic city because it did not fit the narrative of a capital for a multiethnic country, and instead pick on each tiny issue in Mostar such as the case of Ante. He expressed surprise at this conclusion because he did not expect the city to be this way when he moved in after finishing university in Sarajevo.

While he rejected the traditional narrative, he acknowledged that Mostar has its issues but at least remains diverse and it is slowly coming Filip then went on to describe various signs of slow integration such as the Mostar Street Art Festival, Mostar Rock School, various sports clubs, and decreasing enmities among local football clubs. In his view, commercial and economic interactions had the biggest impact with the Mepas Mall² having more impact than any political decisions. For him, it became “...*the only central square of the city...*” because all groups meet, work, and shop here, mentioning Naomi Klein’s *No Logo* and saying that the Mepas Mall created one more integrated spot that decreased importance of the two public shared spaces on each side, Kosača and Musala Trg.

² Major shopping mall that opened in 2009. Only place in the city with McDonalds, Zara, Pull&Bear and other international merchants.

Adam, young Croat in his late teens, agrees that Mepas became a “*neutral zone*” in the city, where people hang out together.

Kamila, Croat teacher from Mostar, agrees that while the segregation of the education is an issue, but adds that the “*...city is growing together...*” through smaller efforts such as the unified student council at Gimnazija Mostar, the local High School Student Association, and sports clubs. She rejected that educational experience in Mostar would be similar to homogenous towns across the country where Croatian students believe they live in Croatia and never meet Bosniaks. (Hromazdic, 2015) She recognized that they were some “*...sad funny moments...*” and introduced the story of her friend’s son from the 1990s:

“She told me the story of her son because they are obviously mixed marriage but her son went to the Croatian school. So, they were learning mountains around Mostar, but they were only learning mountains on the west side...And this is 90s. So her husband like a true Mostarian was really angry and went to the school and said, you know: ‘How can you learn mountains around Mostar and not learn Velež?’ And the teacher was confused for a second and said: ‘But you cannot see it from the window.’ ... (laughter) ...I mean it was 90s, you could do it in the 90s. Today? I do not think you can really pull that today, not in Mostar.”

Narratives of division such as Ante’s case or Kamila’s anecdote are ridiculed and mocked as remains of the past rather than actual misrepresentation of the city. All locals that I interacted with rejected that the city’s divisions are entrenched forever, and instead shared stories of the city slowly coming together. They do not reject the existence of division, but they talk about it as fluid and slowly closing.

Dan, Bosniak young student in his early 20s, went as far to say that he does “*...not really feel the physical segregation...*” of the city, but then shared a story of his cousins “*...who until 10 thought that Zagreb was the capital of the country.*” In his words, he recalled “*...he never had*

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division in his head...” and “...never was part of any pro-division conversation...” His only immediate association with city’s segregation were the “*Football Wars*” from when he was in 7th-8th grade.

Alexandra, mixed Serb-Croat Mostarian woman in her late 20s that worked at a local education NGO, shared how she experienced a lot of backlash at her Croat school for being mixed. During her first four years of elementary education, there were even symbols of Herzeg Bosna³ around the school. She however talked about this as things of past and added that the city today is mixing more and moving forward with bigoted ethno-nationalists slowly disappearing. She then described the situation as “...*a conflict of integrating city and segregated education that is more nationalistic...*”. Later that day I jointly interviewed Jessica, Bosniak student in early 20s, and Toni, mixed Serb-Croat teacher in early 30s. They agreed that the city is coming closer together but the education system is slowing it down and rather presents an obstacle to integration.

Yosef, Simon, and Mira, my youngest participants of all Bosniak Mostarians between 15-18, agreed that the education system promotes segregation but raised that city is getting more together. Mira then added that most of the officially organized events have segregating effect but there are small grass-root projects that bring everyone together.

Tom, young Bosniak man in his early 20s, then mocked that “*lot of times, it is very romanticized the bridge brings us together*” but at home, nobody even perceives massive division

³ Self-declared and unrecognized Croat-dominated entity that existed during the war. It is considered a symbol of Croatian rightwing nationalism

between people themselves, instead it is rather artificially built. He said that there are a lot of opportunities and possibilities to bring the city together, but politicians block them because they want people separated.

Both Sasha, young Croat woman in her early 20s who attended the Croatian curricula, and Darya, young Bosniak woman in her early 20s, were bit more pragmatic about the situation and shared that the city is still very divided, but it is slowly coming together in small ways. Eva , young half-Russian half-Serbo-Croat woman in her late teens, recognized that there were some major developments towards healing but was more cautious about its overall impacts. She however made a clear point that Mostar does not belong among other divided cities such as Jerusalem and Beirut:

“I do not associate the same level of danger and fear and division with Mostar as with the other divided cities. The division is not that hard to break here. It does not feel dangerous to pass to the other side. There are no guards and no wall. No physical blocks to pass to the other side. I am not sure why we are among those places.”

The remaining interviews echoed these narratives of a city that has its issues with division but it is slowly coming together despite education system that promotes segregation. Whilst, this does not represent a holistic narrative of the city, it reflects the discrepancy between the traditional assumption about the division and local understanding of it.

Ethnic Zombies, Sheep, Bosnian James Crow, and No Questions Asked

“The teacher went through the attendance sheet stopping first at Bosniak surname and saying: ‘How are you in the Croatian National curricula?’ and then continuing to Serbian name and saying: ‘Oh, we have a mixed class. Get up! It’s interesting to see someone from that family to marry someone of that name. What are you? How is someone of your identity in this curriculum?’”

That was a description of time when Alexandra had to attend a religion class taught by a local clergyman when her ethics teacher was not at school. She attended Croat curriculum throughout until she left for an international school. At high school, students can pick religion or ethics, she was among the 7 out of 90 students who took ethics. This teacher along with some of her classmates that called her “*chetnik!*”⁴ directly questioned her allegiance to the curriculum. For them, it was unimaginable why a non-Croat would attend Croatian curriculum with paradigm that “*...this is your identity. Stick to it*” that created no space for mixed students or students of other groups. She described how students focus on geography and history of Croatia, and then learnt about “*...Bosnia and Herzegovina as a world country... on a same level as Japan.*” The curriculum never Yugoslavia, the conflict itself, or shared history. In Alexandra’s view, the mentality of conflict that only “*...your national identity will save you...*” moved into the classroom and created a “*... a system producing citizens of others.*” She said that nationalist parties use this system to stay on top at a cost of creating education system that does not provide with space to discuss anything critically and “*...gives you nothing, education gives nothing. It creates narrow minds.*” For her, the school taught her it was not normal to meet the other kids and she was to remain on her own side of the town because it was part of her identity to be this way.

This sentiment that education system segregates students based on their ethnicity and effectively creates conflicting identities carried across other interviews. Darya, Bosniak economics teacher in her early 20s from Mostar, shared similar conclusions after attending the Bosnian

⁴ Derogatory slur for Serbs. Reference to an infamous detachment of Serbian army

curriculum that “*education makes things much worse*” because students “...*learn only about (theirs) ethnicity history and literature*” thus creating “*citizens of different nations*”. While she said that teachers “*never gave them the spiel of prejudice*”, she added that “...*there is no attempt to teach anything objective, everything is subjective...*”. In her view, the education deliberately omits any critical discussion that would allow students to discuss the segregation, and instead “...*makes people into ethnic zombies...*” unaware of the situation, easy to manipulate, and never end up questioning it. She then shared a story about mixed IT lessons in her former school. The Japanese government donated an equipment for IT classroom at her school at a condition that both curricula would attend mixed classes there. Darya shared that students thought it was “*funny*” and “*did not understand why they were bothering*” because most students did not see education segregation as a problem. Education thus “*silences resistance from the people and exacerbates the political situation... (because it) ...normalizes and perpetuates the status quo...*”.

When I asked Toni and Jessica about the role of the education system in integration and reconciliation, they both said that it is slowing it down. Toni, the Serbo-Croat teacher, then added that “*teachers cannot discuss the other side or conflicting opinions because they would get kicked out*”, there is thus a degree of “*self-censorship to avoid conflict and complaints from parents and teachers, not to talk about it.*” They both agreed that the system’s main goal is for students not to question the status quo, ignore the other side, and pretend it does not exist. Jessica then described that system essentially makes students into “*sheep*” that “*feel no need to interact.*”

Surprisingly, Dan, who was interviewed independently via Skype said that when education system is well designed it can be used “*as tools for herding sheep.*” He then said that kids do not even have to “*bother thinking*” in the current education system. In his view, the biggest issue is the

missing other since: *“I had zero Croats in my elementary school. It was just Bosniaks and like three Serbs, and like three Roma people...It shapes the thinking. If there is no one in the classroom to say no, this is not what happened and this is not right, the curriculum is what it is.”* There is no critical discussion among the groups about their potentially conflicting perspectives on the world leaving the official state curricula unchallenged.

Sam agreed to these conclusions and shared that students are *“learning facts that are not be to be challenged”* and that *“You can’t find critical thinking in education because it is outdated”*. She then shared that in her view the biggest issue is not any division but the fact that kids do not know the local political system and nature of division, instead they are kept in dark by their own education system.

Mira, Yosef, and Simon, local high schoolers, then shared several anecdotes of division in two schools under one roof. They described how when they used the classrooms of the Croatian curricula in the building, the teachers warned them not to touch the Christmas trees in the classroom because the Bosniak curricula students would then get blamed for religious intolerance and destruction of Christian symbols. Mira then switched the discussion to the role of religion at school and shared that education is *“going religious at full speed”* because their schools were visited by imams and their religion class was taught by *“more covered teachers than (in) medresa.”* Both Simon and Yosef agreed with Mira and then shared that there are two structural pressures to pick religion instead of ethics. First, peer pressure, second, it is considered and thus *“makes your score better”*.

Kamila’s insights resembled Darya’s description of ethnic zombies and Jessica’s sheep because she said that education segregation *“is so natural you don’t realize”* because the system

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“teaches you there is no necessity for interaction.” She said that she cannot even recall any conflicts between students. Instead, she mentioned that ethics and religion teachers tried to play kids against each other. In her view, the system creates passively institutionalizes the division, teaches students to ignore any critical discussions thus decreasing quality of education, and then manages to present itself as if *“technically there is no issue.”* She then mentioned that she is afraid of sending her mixed child to any local elementary school due to these issues and due to the experience of kindergarten teachers teaching her child to pray against her will. The same fear was voiced also by Toni and Filip who both have small children in pre-school age.

Sasha started her interview with a short explanation why her experience might not be representative because she has a very open-minded Croat teacher that *“married to Muslim man who died in the war. Her narrative was not to discriminate.”* She said that minority students picked this teacher class because she treated her students as equal. In Sasha’s view, the overall *“education system did not teach (her) much”* about the conflict or country’s issues, but it was her elementary school teacher who took an extra step to discuss these topics. However, when she started attending high school, there was no mention of the differences, instead they follow Croatian curricula where they learn about Bosnia *“but it’s just a chapter and initiatives from teachers – like teacher says you have to know the country you live in”*. In her view, *“education is the most crucial thing for overcoming prejudice”* and *“as much as it is important to integrate, it is important to respect and have separate national curricula. Choice of each group should be respected.”* Despite this assertion that the system should keep a level of segregation, she is deeply critical of the current state of it and views it as a prejudice building institution that does not treat students equally.

This tendency to describe one's more open-minded experience of education system as unique was also present at Tom's, and Alice's interview. Alice, young Croat woman in her mid 20s, started the interview explaining how she comes from very open-minded family that simply did not teach her prejudice. Growing up, she never discussed the division either at school or with friends. In her own words, she only became aware of the division at high school when she started attending school with two curricula, but there was no integration:

"It was normal not to interact. This is my program and this is yours and we do not need to integrate. People did not know if they are supposed to interact. There is no hatred, this is how it is."

She did not have a chance to make friends from the other group because there were no mixed classes. In her view, it was a *"very passive conflict – it is nothing that people talk about – you live your life in your own community."* She then admitted that when approaching Bosniak students *"We just did not know how to interact. The thinking was: we are not sure how to interact."* In her view, the education system does not provide students with tools to engage with issues around them and their fellow citizens from other groups, they thus *"cannot critically assess the society and system"*.

Tom, Bosniak man in his early 20s, also started the interview by sharing he never grew up with the division thanks to his open-minded family. *"School was always just school"* until he had the *"us versus them realization"* around the age of 13-14 when he got punched in a face by a group of Croatian boys. Despite the realization of division, his opinions did not change so much because *"you are so detached, you do not even see others. You do not hang out with others. You do not question it."* In his view, the system does not perpetuate hatred towards others, it just normalizes segregation and makes *"younger people...not think about it."* He said that people are not even

aware that their identity influences their lives so much, and concluded that the level of institutionalized division has parallels to James Crow laws in the United States.

Adam, Croatian man in his late teens, then actually described that he consciously chose to apply to a mixed school despite his friends and parents questioning such choice. Similarly to Alice, Sasha, Darya, and others attended a mixed school, he had some initial fears based on preconceived assumptions about the others and location of the school. For him, the integrated school reinforced division and prejudice, albeit less than mono-ethnic schools, because students “*always looked at differences and compared themselves*” and “*people who hung out across groups were looked upon differently*”. The main issue was that there were no shared spaces to discuss division or differences among students, instead students faced very explicit division despite being in the same building. He did not have any experiences of teachers directly promoting division, but experienced a teacher correcting a pronunciation of a student and saying: “*We speak Croatian here in Croatian curriculum*”. Literature classes ignore non-Croat writers from the country, while history ignores that Croats build concentration camps in Rodoč right next to Mostar. Adam said that system “*creates bubbles*” that students do not even realize exist nor question them. In his view this unawareness shows during events such as ICJ Rulings when people within groups cannot even agree on the same history. As a student he feels like:

“People have their own versions of history. It’s hard to believe either side. I do not even know what sources to trust. I realized I cannot trust my educational system and my textbooks since they are so different.”

Adam appreciates his experience of having friends from all groups, but realizes it does not apply to everyone. While the town is getting more integrated in his view with number of shared

places growing, he said it is thanks to NGOs and commerce with education rather having the opposite effect.

Eva, half Russian and half Serbo-Croat Mostarian woman in her late teens, followed Croatian curricula and recounted several stories system promoted Croat identity. In primary school, her mother signed her up for optional Catholic religious classes because she was afraid Eva would be ostracized in Croatian curriculum for not attending them. At high school, she took religion class where they prayed and learnt about Catholicism. While she learnt about Bosnia and even Serbia, the focus was on Croatia with students learning “*nationalist poems and analyzing Croatian anthem.*” In Eva’s words: “*There was never a situation that somebody would say you are not a Bosnian Croat, but there are things in the curriculum that make you be Croat and influence Croatian national feelings.*” She agreed that system promotes Croatian identity at cost of Bosnian with young Bosnian Croats refusing Bosnian citizenship identity for Croatian identity, but also added that Bosnian state and education system need to recognize Bosnian Croat identity as separate and allow students to learn about it. Yet, what she identified as the biggest problem of the system is that it erases any critical discussion of it, she admitted that she “*...never thought she could question education*”.

It’s All Just Politics

“The price of this? Election. You only think of one (group to vote for), if you are not taught to think.”

Kamila commented on the biggest price of the education system. In her view, the education system anchors one’s ethnic identity so strongly that most students do not even dare to think to vote for a party that directly does not represent their own ethnicity. She then added that education is far more

insidious than just creating conflicting identities, in her view it also gives local politicians a clear group to address and defend:

“Education has become a part of building an identity that you need for having voting groups. So, it is a system that has a check now, it has a pattern... it is about training future voters, and also having voting body, so you can say we have 100, 200, 300, 400 thousand people in Mostar and these define as Roman Catholics. It is also the system. For me it is mostly present through a subject of religion”

The belief that education system works directly for ethnonationalist political leaders was voiced by every interviewee with an exception of the two Ministry workers. Some even commented that there must be conscious effort to keep such badly designed system because even if we ignore impacts of segregation on identity and prejudice, there can be no logical reason for it to exist except for it to further political agenda. Eva summed it up in a fiery statement:

“Who benefits? Why is it this way? It is instrumental use of nationalism by elites, the system benefits the elites. A lot of people are aware of it.”

Barbara and Stefan, both working at local Education Ministry, both said that the current legislation is up-to-date and good, but agreed that the system is problematic. Barbara said that system needs to promote deeper integration and interactions among young people, but such changes are rejected by local headmasters, teachers, and politicians reject even if directed by the local Ministry. Stefan highlighted cooperation between Ministry and various NGOs on projects promoting integration. They both believe that the status quo cannot continue for much longer and hope for improvement.

Alexandra shared this view that the system *“will collapse, because it is not sustainable”* while Yosef, Mira, and Simon rather shared that there is a great degree of *“defeatism”* about the

education system because everybody knows it is bad and nobody expects anything from it anymore.

In Darya's view, the quality of education suffers greatly because nobody even wants to reform the old-fashioned system because it *"enables people to stay in position of power because it keeps the artificial divide"*. When I asked Sam if there were any parties that proposed a reform, she echoed the same opinion:

"There is no serious want to reform the system. It benefits the top level. Parties like that we are all being taught our own history and language. It solidifies nationalism."

Toni shared a very similar opinion:

"No one is willing to do it (to change education). No political party wants it. As long as there is segregation, there are three parties. Status quo is the best for them."

When I asked Filip about it, he was not surprised and mentioned a case of Denis Bećirović who proposed that the state needs to abolish two schools under one roof, other curricula, and achieve unitary education. Yet, he did not mention how and the populist topic disappeared as soon as elections were over. He then said that politicians *"...talking about it like it was 15 years ago is rather problematic, and only people who benefit from it, do it."* In his view, local politicians embraced the traditional rhetoric of division that is present in international academia and media because it works well for them. They use it to split the country and present Mostar as a troubled city to the world and more homogenous parts of the country. Yet, he concluded that people started seeing through this misinterpretation and mock it.

Alice shared similar view that the city is still divided but the situation improved since she was a kid: *“Now it is much better. The situation is improving. People are just sick of it. People have so many other issues and problems, they do not even care about it. It is more politics and not the people. It needs organizations and activities to bring people together.”* In her view, the young people are tired of the war narrative and they do not want to hear it anymore. Instead, there is a need for time and space for discussion and healing of the city.

Dan said that *“different ideologies”* are being thrown at students throughout their education, especially in history classes, but he also added that students do not trust all taught narratives and do not internalize them: *“It is one thing to like, learn what is presented to you as facts and then present it for a grade, and it is another thing to actually to blindly follow ideologies that are being thrown at you.”*

Tom presented even simpler understanding of the current situation: *“It all comes up from politicians. People do not give a shit. They want jobs.”*

V. Educating for Segregation

The current research on the impacts of the educational system on social identity and social distance can be classified into two categories, first is top-down content analysis of education institutions such as textbooks or curricula that assumes their direct effect on students, the second is a large-n survey study that engages students directly. Notwithstanding their claim to uncovering the causal link between education system and student identity, these studies fundamentally ignore students' lived experiences of the education systems. The former type assumes that one aspect of education has an impact on students without actually measuring it and controlling for other aspects of their education experience. The latter type then makes a mistake of assuming a set of static pre-conceived identities that forces students to fit into predefined bracket without having the option to self-identify.

This research corrects for both of those shortcomings and builds a bottom-up narrative of this affect while understanding education experience more holistically than just a set of textbooks and assuming fluid social identities among students. Moreover, this research also questioned the nature of the concept of divided town. The chapter IV presented empirical research on the localized perspectives on the issue conducted in the city of Mostar in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This chapter then introduces analysis of empirical and theoretical findings of this research vis-à-vis the existing literature. It starts with presentation of the theoretical contribution of this research that discusses the concept of divided city and its utility for academic research. The following subchapter then describes how education system students' social identity and social distance. Smaller findings are presented at the very end of the chapter.

Divided City

The concept of a divided city is a conceptual stretch that creates a set of radicalized unfounded assumption about particular locations that misguide both the researcher and the reader. As discussed in Chapter 1 and 2, a romanticized concept of divided city where people fear to cross into the other side and engage with others haunts media and academic research. There is no widely accepted definition that would state what makes a city divided, nor any attempt to delimit the term within the terms of active intra-ethnic conflicts or clashes.

In case of Mostar, the research and news articles usually use the structural institutional segregation and random anecdotes to stress the level of division of the city and its people. (Smith Galer, 2018, Calame et al, 2012, Carabelli, 2018, Surk, 2018, Knezevic, 2018, Kaufmann, 2006) While part of this segregation is a remainder of the conflict, significant level of the institutional segregation is a result of the Dayton Peace Treaty (DPA). The DPA was intended as a temporary measure introduced by international actors to end the conflict but remains an imperfect attempt of consociationalism in the country. It is not specific to Mostar, every city in the country with diverse enough population will thus be divided. Locals do not perceive it as a valid evidence of division, they perceive it as outdated. For them, the narrative of divided city is a tool of local politicians, which promotion then helps them to stay in power and make profit.

The second type of evidence that focuses on small anecdotes such as interview with Ante and inter-group conflicts are then mocked as exaggerations of ignorance. While none of my interviewees denied that the city is divided to an extent, they do not understand it as an active division caused by hatred. They recognize city's segregation as daily reality, but do not actively advance it. Instead, Mostarians believe that situation cannot stay this way and things will improve,

they understand the current situation as a remainder of the conflict that needs time to heal. They take these anecdotes as unfortunate consequence of top-down imposed segregation with young people being the mislead victims of the education system. They talk about these stories either with laughter or in a very judging tone, mocking them as absurd signs of stupidity, racism or ignorance in both cases. Except the obvious ethnic segregation, there is no evidence to place Mostar among the ranks of other ‘divided cities’ such as Beirut, Jerusalem, and Belfast that have physical walls and checkpoints inside the city. If we consider ethnic segregation as a way to define cities as divided, the concept loses any meaning because of cities such as New York and Chicago.

Overall, this research found no sound reason for the use of the concept of divided city. Divided city is an overstretched concept that is usually applied unanimously to cities in post-conflict countries that have higher levels of diversity and experience ethnic segregation. These narratives identify every single aspect of a city as a symbol of division without considering its true meaning within local contexts. In this way, any unfortunate event such as Ante’s interview or anecdote from school then become a sensationalized proof of the division instead of being understood as ignorance or racism. By endorsing this concept, both writer and reader might in fact help local politicians in achieving their aims of splitting the city.

The Mechanism of Educating for Segregation

Overall, the education system in Mostar strengthens students’ identification with the officially taught social identities and increases the social distance in the town albeit differently than described in current academic literature. The system normalizes the division and confines students to their own group so strongly that it does not need to promote any overtly prejudiced or

nationalist narrative of identity and social distance like it did in years following the conflict and in the early 2000s. Instead, it contains four features that strengthen student's social identities and promote segregation, those are: introduction to the desired narrative of identity, elimination of critical thinking, spatial segregation, and lack of alternatives.

First, it introduces what it expects students to identify with and removes references to the other group. Conversely to the previous content analysis research of textbooks and curricula that suggested that bigoted books make bigoted students, this research found little to no evidence of such simple process. While textbooks and curricula serve to promote desired social identities, it introduces them to a relatively balanced understanding of ethno-national identity of the respective curricula. Croatian Federal curriculum promotes Croatian social identity and Bosnian Federal curriculum promotes Bosnian identity. Such education practice is common in other multinational states such as Canada and Spain where minority students from certain regions follow curriculum that promotes social identity of their own group. Education promotes these identities by inclusion of religious education, particular historical narratives, study of national literature, and other subjects. While most interviewees pointed out the low quality of the education system overall, they rejected that system explicitly taught them prejudice towards the other group with an exception of the religion classes that are mandated by local religious authorities. The system refrains from explicit nationalism and open hatred towards the other groups just like education systems in liberal democratic countries.

However, the major issue becomes that each curricula only presents a singular narrative that downplays or completely ignores their identity and any shared history with this group. Interviewees from each group pointed out that curriculum of the other group does not respect their

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own identities enough, while they also said that they do not learn much about the other group - most prominently with Croatian curriculum omitting Bosnia and Bosniaks and Bosnian curriculum downplaying identity of Bosnian Croats. Croatian curriculum is especially adept at devoiding its students from information about the country that they live in and instead focusing on study of Croatia. There is very little attempt to learn anything about shared history or the conflict. Students thus learn about their own group and what is expected of them, but do not learn much about the history and identity of the other. The system uses ignorance as building blocks for segregation instead of direct hatred.

Religion are the most prominent example of this process. Religion classes do not teach students about spirituality and religious beliefs, instead they directly promote Catholicism in Croatian curricula and Islam in Bosniak curricula. While students can opt out for ethics class, only a minority does it because of described peer pressure to attend these classes and a vision of the better grade. The system segregates students in name of group rights, but does not provide them with any space to discuss issues with their fellow citizens from the other side. On top of it, it also creates space for peer pressure and use of religious narrative to sway students towards the taught identity.

Both curricula clearly identify what they expect their students to be whilst not teaching any other religion and only offering a harder ethics class. Religious classes, choice of historiography, and other parts of each curricula then not only serve to build a particular identity but also to define what this identity is not. Promotion of these differences results in deeper othering resulting in lower ability to identify with the other group and higher identification with their own group. Students

then end up believing that there are too different to mix establishing two polar identities with no in-between.

Second, the education system removes any possibility for a critical discussion and grading awards memorization instead of critical thinking. Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina is based on an outdated hierarchical relationship between student and a teacher. Teachers are assumed to hold the absolute truth that students are asked to blindly replicate without any personal input or discussion. Moreover, most teachers consciously avoid any discussion of potentially controversial topics such as division and identity because they fear repercussions from their superiors and students' parents. If any controversial discussion emerges, teachers shut it down very quickly without the need to explain themselves to the students. Students have to accept it because of their extremely subordinate position. The few teachers that openly discuss these topics with students are rare. Education system only presents the status quo preventing students from engaging in a critical discussion about their city, its issues, and their fellow citizens. The system thus promotes lower quality education to protect itself.

Third, spatial segregation secures that students are unable to engage with each other. Even if students got a space to discuss the segregation and the situation in the city and country, they are missing the other students to discuss it with. Most students thus never get a chance to interact students out of their group with an exception of minorities like Roma, Mostarian Serbs, and mixed children. The few minority students that attend the classes of the other group then sometimes face backlash from their peers and religious figures that come to teach religion classes. There are no direct attempts from Ministry of Education or local headmasters at bringing the students together. The (in)famous IT classes at the Stara Gimnazija Mostar that are a result of a

conditional gift of computers to the school by the Japanese Government do not make students interact with each other. Instead, students don't even understand why they have to take them together. The integrated schools that host two curricula in one building, result of OSCE's Two Schools Under One Roof Policy, create some limited spaces for interactions but do not lead to any meaningful engagements across the groups. The interviewees who attended these schools rejected the label of integrated school and shared that they did not interact with the other group at all. Conversely to the idea of integration, students described pressure to be more careful not to engage with other group and rather politely ignore them with warnings from teachers not to touch anything belonging to the other group and some students ostracizing their fellow classmates for engaging with students from the other curricula. While younger interviewees described organized efforts from student body and some local NGOs to engage with the other, they agreed that integrated schools are not integrated at all.

The inbuilt segregation increases inter-group social distance and consequently salience of taught ethnonational identity among students. Social identity is created relationally, meaning that one group defines itself in relation to the other group. Group A then defines itself base on what it does not share with the Group B instead of identifying the commonalities. Othering then becomes an inherent part of social identity because it sets groups further apart emphasizing their differences and promoting exclusive identities. This is done through promoting exclusive narratives that define what desired identity is and what not as mentioned before in case of religion, but also by spatial segregation. The lower exposure to their peers from the other groups prevents students from having any meaningful interactions together. Inability to interact becomes so normalized that students do not even understand why they should attempt to engage with the other group and perceive any

attempts of integration such as imposed on them as funny incidents. Some students even describe a situation where they feel unable to interact with the other group, and do not know how to break the barrier. The segregation then ends up perpetuating themselves with students exoticizing their fellow citizens as some unapproachable strangers.

Fourth, there is no public alternative to the ethnic based education system. It is probably the most problematic aspect of the education system because it is enshrined in the consociational constitution of the country. It protects the group right of Croats, Serbs, and Bosniaks to have their own educational system making any alternative impossible. Naturally, Croats pick Croatian curriculum, Serbs pick Serbian curriculum, and Bosniak Bosnian Federal curriculum making ethno-national identity a defining aspect of their education experience. Minority students have to conform to one of these curricula because the system does not recognize students outside of these three identities. Majority of the country do not question this aspect of the system believing “*there is technically no issue with it*” as stated by Kamila. They understand it as a right of their group without any regard to the right of individual for self-determination or right for proper education. It is mostly the students from minority groups and mixed families express find the system deeply troublesome because it forces them to conform to an identity that they do not even identify with. It creates education experience that is defined by one’s ethnicity with no space for critical questioning and interactions with the other group. Students who want to escape it have no choice but to attend a private school.

These four mechanisms then result in a system that increases salience of ethno-national identities among students, promotes social distance between groups, and normalizes segregation as unwavering status quo. The education system does it so skillfully that students do not end up

thinking of each other as equal citizens, instead they perceive each other as too different to feel any need to interact with each other. If such need arises, they even feel unable to interact with the other group. They understand each other as two isolate groups with any inter-group interactions considered as something awkward, unnecessary, and undesirable despite sharing the same city and citizenship. Any Education system thus does not manage to promote moral equality among citizens because it fails to make them perceive each other as equals.

Normalization of segregation thus ends up legitimizing the system because of large social distance among groups and their inability to form any connection from their ethnic isolation. In most cases, the ethno-national identity collapses with the citizenship identity into one creating two groups of Mostarians with conflicting ethnic group and state allegiances. The public education system in Mostar thus essentially promotes two different citizenship projects in one town with its citizens treating each other as complete strangers that have nothing in common except the city they live in.

While it sounds schizophrenic of a public education system to promote citizenship identity of another country, Mostarians understand it as a case of instrumentalization of education by political elites for their own gain. Education helps to make people into easily manipulable “*ethnic zombies*” and “*sheep*” that are easily swayed by identity politics of the major ethnonational parties at the time of election. Thanks to the consociational constitution, the ethnonational leaders also possess almost complete control over education making it easier for them to condition their voters by spreading the desired narrative. The system helps them to divide population into three clearly defined groups making the body easier to address and define. For these reasons, neither of the ethnonational parties wants to reform the current education system. The only interest it to present

the status quo as the only option that has no alternative. Such normalization of ethnic segregation secures that Bosnian politics is dominated by ethnic politics keeping the three major parties in power. The consociational system thus created a perverse incentive for local politicians to promote segregation at pretense of group rights. It not only freezes ethnic identities, but even strengthens them.

The local interpretation of Mostar's situation is quite dim with people voicing both distrust in local politicians but also no alternative to the status quo. The division is normalized, it becomes a normal aspect of daily life that has no other alternative. Mostarians do not romanticize their situation. They distrust both their education system and political system, but defeatism daunts any hope for improvement. They do not expect any change from their politicians and they also cannot imagine any alternative to the status quo in the city or in their education system. They are tired of local political leaders and mock their narratives of division, instead they would prefer their local politicians to focus on economic development of the city and provision of jobs. The consociational political system based on ethnicity is both an assumed necessity and a curse.

Despite the omnipresent segregation, they believe that the situation has improved over the past years with small signs of integration all around the city. The division is perceived as slowly closing despite the attempts of local politicians to keep it unchanged. The few anecdotal examples of young people not being willing to accept the promoted identities and narrative of division is low but slowly growing. Some local interpretations of the situation are more hopeful than others, but all agree on two things. First, the city still divided because it needs more time than 20 years since the conflict to heal. Second, they agree that the situation is extremely unsustainable that something must change, but they do not know what.

Conclusion

Despite the initial ban on this research by the local Education Ministry, this thesis documented the effects of segregated pre-university education system on student social identities and levels of prejudice towards other groups in Mostar, Bosnia on Herzegovina. It provided novel empirical insights on the processes that lead to these effects, while questioning utility of the concept of divided city for academic research.

First chapter introduced reader to the theory on education, social identity, and social distance with focus on the importance of pre-university education on social identity, and the role of education in a democratic society. It then discussed the concepts of fluid social identity and social distance. This section identified the top-down approach on the study of impacts of education system as the major drawback of the current academic research and proposed to correct it through a more localized approach that directly involved education stakeholders. Furthermore, it also proposed the need to question the assertion of division build around the narrative of the divided town. Second chapter then provided a contextual background on the case study of Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina and development of the education system in relation to the conflict.

Third chapter introduced reader to the interpretivist paradigm behind this research that allowed it to assume fluid identities and then presented the discussion explaining benefits and limitations of ethnographic research for this study. It then summarized the nature of my observations and interactions with participants in the city of Mostar across between 2009 and 2018 with a focus on the 18 in-depth interviews conducted between April 2018 and November 2018.

and more recent observations conducted during several trips in 2017-2018. The last segment then outlined the original research plan that was banned by local authorities.

Fourth presented the initial analysis of gathered empirical data. It underlined the conflict between the narratives of Mostarian division present in academic literature and news and the local understanding of it. Afterwards, it presented the local interpretations of what impacts education system has on students. The last section of this chapter focused on a pattern in interviews that understands segregation of education as the result of the local political situation.

The final chapter offered the main analytical insights showing that segregated education system in Bosnia and Herzegovina increases students' salience of ethnonational identity and even collapses it with citizenship identity while it also increases social distance among groups and promotes prejudice. These findings were consistent with the previous research on the impacts of segregated education on social identity in the country and other post-conflict multinational democracies that suggested that segregated education promotes social segregation.

The research then introduced two novel contributions to the academic research on the subject, and several minor contributions related to the field. First, it provided a theoretical contribution when it discussed the concept of 'divided city.' It rejected it as an over-stretched concept that is used to describe any heterogeneous city in a post-conflict society that experiences any degree of segregation ranking Mostar next to Nicosia and Jerusalem. The narrative of 'divided city' did not resemble the local understanding of Mostar's division. Instead it led to unfounded assumption that misguided researchers, journalists and readers. This thesis suggested to stop using the term unless clearer definition existed.

Second major contribution was empirical and it meticulously described the mechanism how segregated education promotes segregation and salient social identities. Unlike research that only focused on textbook and curricula, this thesis analyzed the education experience holistically and identified four aspects of the Mostarian education system that contribute to the overall effect. It rebuilt this model bottom-up based on local interpretations of the education sector. The education system was found to normalize segregation to such an extent that students did not perceive each other as equal citizens that can engage with each other. Instead the system was found to promote citizenship identities of other countries.

The chapter then concluded with several additional findings connected to the main research question that arose during my empirical work. First, it argued that local ethnonational politicians exploit consociational institutions to promote segregation to stay in power, then presented the local more defeated interpretation on the current level of division and absurdity of the situation, and ended on a more positive local outlook into the future.

Appendix A: List of Anonymized Interviewees

This research uses pseudonyms. The names and exact ages of the interviewees are kept anonymous at their request. Several interviewees voiced their fear of potential repercussions at their work place. I only provide pseudonyms, approximate ages, and vague job description to avoid their identification. This list only refers to in-depth interviews, I do not list all the participants that I have engaged with during the whole duration of the research.

Name	Age	Gender	Ethnic Identification	Role	Date of the Interview
1. Kamila	31-35	F	Croat	Teacher	15.9.2018
2. Alexandra	26-30	F	M: Croat/Serb	Educator/Local	15.9.2018
3. Darya	21-25	F	Bosniak	Teacher	15.9.2018
4. Toni	31-35	M	M: Croat/Serb	Teacher	16.9.2018
5. Jessica	21-25	F	M: Croat/Bosniak	Works in IT	16.9.2018
6. Dan	21-25	M	Bosniak	Student	15.9.2018
7. Barbara	55-60	F	Bosniak	Education Administration	15.9.2018
8. Sam	26-30	F	Croat	Educator/Activist	16.9.2018 21.9.2018
9. Yosef	16-20	M	Bosniak	Student	22.9.2018
10. Mira	16-20	F	Bosniak	Student	22.9.2018
11. Simon	16-20	M	Bosniak	Student	22.9.2018
12. Filip	31-35	M	Bosniak	Teacher	22.9.2018
13. Stefan	40-45	M	Croat	Education Administration	24.9.2018

14. Sasha	21-25	F	Croat	Works in Accounting	30.9.2018
15. Tom	21-25	M	Bosniak	Student	16.10.2018
16. Adam	16-20	M	Croat	Student	20.10.2018
17. Alice	21-25	F	Croat	Researcher	25.10.2018
18. Eva	16-20	F	Mixed	Student	4.11.2018

Appendix B: Original Proposal: Variable selection, Original Hypotheses and Survey Design

Variable Selection

The study measures three dependent variables:

- i. Ethno-national identity (Continuous compound variable)
- ii. State identity (Continuous compound variable)
- iii. Social distance (Continuous compound variable)

These variables and inspiration for interview questions were established on previous research of Bakke et al (2009), Brady and Kaplan (2009), Citrin and Sears (2009), Levy (2007), Majstorović and Turjačanin, 2013, Phinney (1992), Valk and Karu (2001).

There are two main independent variables:

- i. Curriculum (Binary variable: Croatian/Bosnian)
- ii. Integration (Binary variable: Yes/No)

Hypotheses

This thesis compares the impact of integrated education and non-integrated education in Bosnia and Herzegovina on ethno-national and state identities of students, and social distance between students of different ethnicities.

Based on the research of Hjort (2004), Hromazdic (2009), and Levy (2007) that showed that ethnic identities are salient across all groups of students in Bosnia and Herzegovina, I propose:

H₁: The salience of ethnic identity will be similar across all schools and curricula.

Hromazdic (2000), Levy (2007), Majstorović and Turjačanin (2013), and Weinstein et al (2007) showed that Bosnian students have higher identification with the Bosnian state vis-à-vis Croatian and Serbian students. I propose my second hypothesis:

H₂: Students of Bosnian curricula in both integrated and non-integrated schools will have stronger state identities than students in the Croatian curricula in either school.

The third hypothesis is established on social distance research by Allport (1954), Bakke et al (2009), Pettigrew (2002) and Valk and Karu (2001) that suggests that increased contact and interactions are negatively associated with prejudice and social distance. I have also used Paolini et al (2004) research on social distance among high school students in Northern Ireland, and Levy (2007) and Weinstein et al (2007) research on high school students in Bosnia and Herzegovina that showed lower social distance in integrated schools with higher interethnic contact. I establish my hypothesis on social distance:

H₃: Students of both curricula in the integrated school will feel lower social distance towards other groups compared to students from the segregated schools.

Survey Design

The survey has four types of questions: ethnic identity, state identity, social distance, opinion on curricula, and controls. Most of these questions were selected from previous research. The questions were all stated in a positive way, since negative questions related to social identity show little explanatory value. (Phinney, 1992, 160) The survey questions are stated as identification statements (e.g. I feel like..., I enjoy... My identity means...) since these responses showed to have the highest explanatory power when it comes to the study of identity compared to statements reflecting general observations about society. (Sinnott, 2005, 222)

Ethnic Identity

These questions were selected from three studies: Phinney' (1992), Levy (2007), and Bakke et al (2009). It follows Phinney's framework of measuring "*positive ethnic attitudes, ethnic identity achievement (exploring and resolving ethnic identity issues), and ethnic behaviors.*" (Phinney, 1992, 158) Questions are organized in pairs to check for consistency in answers.⁵ The first two questions measure sense of belonging, the second measure ethnic identity achievement, and the third measure pride in achievements of one's group.

1. My ethnic belonging is an important part of my identity, and how I think of myself.
-

⁵ Questions in the final survey were randomized in order to prevent participants from satisficing.

2. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.
3. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means to me.
4. I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in my life.
5. I feel proud to be a member of my ethnic group.
6. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments.

State Identity

These questions were selected from the same studies as the questions on ethnic identity. They are also in pairs to measure for consistency. The first two measure attachment towards Bosnian citizenship, while the latter two measure the in-group closeness with other Bosnian citizens. The last two questions

7. My Bosnian citizenship is an important part of my identity, of how I think of myself.
8. I feel a strong attachment towards my Bosnian citizenship
9. I feel close to other citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
10. I feel very warmly towards other citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Social Distance

These questions were selected from three studies: Phinney' (1992), Levy (2007), and Bakke et al (2009). There are two pairs to check for consistent answers (13&14, 15&16), 13&14 measure openness to contact with other groups, while 15&16 rather measures trust. Question 11 serves as a partial control to see how much time participants spent with other ethnic groups since students of segregated schools might meet students of other ethnicities outside the school, and students in integrated school might not interact with the other group. Questions 12&17 reflect openness to group mixing, 17 is the only question defined in binary terms.

11 I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own.

12 I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together.

13 I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own.

14 I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own.

15 I feel like I can become friends with people from other ethnic groups, but I cannot fully trust them.

16 Among ethnic groups, it is possible to create cooperation but never to fully trust.

17 Ethnic relations in my locality will improve when nationalities are separated into territories that belong only to them.

Opinion on educational system

These two questions were created for this research to measure the student's support for having a degree of shared national curricula. It partially reflects state identity, but it is kept separate since desire to have a shared curricula might also reflect lower social distance and willingness to integrate.

18 There should be some shared national curricula.

19 It is important that every nationality to have its own curricula.

Controls

The study includes regular controls: age, gender, religion, and two questions self-identified ethnic identity.

- Age (20): is included only as a regular control, I expect it to have no explanatory power since all participants should be of similar age.
- Religion (22): this is denominational measure of religion since we assume religious identity to reflect religious denomination, (Alwin et al, 2006, 537) it serves as a control to measure effect of religion on answers. Due to the high covariance with ethnic identity, I do not expect high explanatory power.
- Self-identified ethnic identity (21&24): This thesis works with preformed conception of identity (Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian), it does not aim to expand on them, but to measure their salience. Therefore, the control question on ethnic self-identification uses close-ended

question as suggested by Sylvan and Metskas. (2009, 94) Passport ownership and ascribed ethnic identity serve as checks for consistency. They are covariates and should be identical in majority of responses. (Brady and Kaplan, 2009, 54) Croatian passport owners are expected to identify as Croats, and Bosnian-passport holders will identify as Bosniaks.

- Self-identified citizenship (23): this is to control for how participants answer to a direct question on their state identity.

SURVEYS

English Version

SURVEY FOR STUDENTS OF GIMNAZIJA(S) OF CITY OF MOSTAR

This country has three constituent people, and very complex and decentralized administration of education. Students of different backgrounds thus have very distinct educational experiences depending on their ethnicity and/or the curricula offered in their region. City of Mostar is one of the most diverse municipalities in Bosnia and Herzegovina with many different high schools. These questions are trying to understand how different school systems impact how students feel about their identity.

Use the multiple-choice questions below to indicate how you feel about each statement. Please, only use one response per question.

1. My ethnic belonging is an important part of my identity, and how I think of myself.
 - A. Strongly agree
 - B. Mostly agree
 - C. Neutral
 - D. Mostly disagree
 - E. Strongly disagree
2. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.
 - A. Strongly agree
 - B. Mostly agree
 - C. Neutral
 - D. Mostly disagree
 - E. Strongly disagree
3. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means to me.
 - A. Strongly agree

- B. Mostly agree
- C. Neutral
- D. Mostly disagree
- E. Strongly disagree

4. I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in my life.
 - A. Strongly agree
 - B. Mostly agree
 - C. Neutral
 - D. Mostly disagree
 - E. Strongly disagree
5. I feel proud to be a member of my ethnic group:
 - A. Strongly agree
 - B. Mostly agree
 - C. Neutral
 - D. Mostly disagree
 - E. Strongly disagree
6. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments.
 - A. Strongly agree
 - B. Mostly agree
 - C. Neutral
 - D. Mostly disagree
 - E. Strongly disagree

Four on national/citizenship identity:

7. My Bosnian citizenship is an important part of my identity, of how I think of myself.
 - A. Strongly agree
 - B. Mostly agree
 - C. Neutral
 - D. Mostly disagree
 - E. Strongly disagree
8. I feel close to other citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
 - A. Strongly agree
 - B. Mostly agree
 - C. Neutral
 - D. Mostly disagree
 - E. Strongly disagree
9. I feel very warmly towards other citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

- A. Strongly agree
- B. Mostly agree
- C. Neutral
- D. Mostly disagree
- E. Strongly disagree

10. I feel a strong attachment towards my Bosnian citizenship

- A. Strongly agree
- B. Mostly agree
- C. Neutral
- D. Mostly disagree
- E. Strongly disagree

Five on social distance:

11. I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own.

- A. Strongly agree
- B. Mostly agree
- C. Neutral
- D. Mostly disagree
- E. Strongly disagree

12. I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together.

- A. Strongly agree
- B. Mostly agree
- C. Neutral
- D. Mostly disagree
- E. Strongly disagree

13. I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own.

- A. Strongly agree
- B. Mostly agree
- C. Neutral
- D. Mostly disagree
- E. Strongly disagree

14. I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own.

- A. Strongly agree
- B. Mostly agree
- C. Neutral
- D. Mostly disagree
- E. Strongly disagree

15. I feel like I can become friends with people from other ethnic groups, but I cannot fully trust them.
- A. Strongly agree
 - B. Mostly agree
 - C. Neutral
 - D. Mostly disagree
 - E. Strongly disagree
16. Among ethnic groups, it is possible to create cooperation but never to fully trust.
- A. Strongly agree
 - B. Mostly agree
 - C. Neutral
 - D. Mostly disagree
 - E. Strongly disagree

EXTRA YES/NO

17. Ethnic relations in my locality will improve when nationalities are separated into territories that belong only to them.
- A. Yes
 - B. No
18. There should be some shared national curricula.
- A. Yes
 - B. No
19. It is important that every nationality to have its own curricula.
- A. Yes
 - B. No

CONTROLS:

20. How old are you?
Fill in:

21. In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be:
- A. Croat
 - B. Bosniak
 - C. Serbian
 - D. Other – fill in:
22. In terms of religion, I consider myself to be:
- A. Catholic Christian

- B. Orthodox Christian
- C. Islam
- D. None
- E. Other

23. In terms of citizenship, I consider myself to be:

- A. Bosnian citizen
- B. Croatian citizen
- C. Serbian citizen
- D. Other (FILL IN)_____

24. Legally, I hold following passports:

- A. Bosnian
- B. Croatian
- C. Serbian
- D. Other (Fill in)_____

Version in Local Language with randomized question order and English translations

ANKETA ZA UČENIKE GIMNAZIJA GRADA MOSTARA

Ova država ima tri konstitutivna naroda i veoma kompleksnu i decentralizovanu obrazovnu upravu. Učenici različitih pozadina zbog toga imaju veoma različita iskustva u zavisnosti od njihove etničke pripadnosti i/ili gradiva koje se izučava u njihovom mjestu. Grad Mostar je jedno od najšarolikijih područja u Bosni i Hercegovini sa mnogo različitih srednjih škola. Ovim pitanjima se pokušava razumjeti kako različiti edukacioni sistemi utiču na stav učenika prema svom identitetu.

Koristeći odgovore ponuđene ispod pokažite svoj stav vezano za svaku od izjava. Molimo koristite samo jedan odgovor po pitanju.

1. Osjećam se veoma ugodno sa ostalim stanovnicima Bosne i Hercegovine.
(I feel very warmly towards other citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina)
 - A. U potpunosti se slažem
 - B. Većinski se slažem
 - C. Neutralan sam
 - D. Većinski se ne slažem
 - E. U potpunosti se ne slažem
2. Moja etnička pripadnost je važan dio mog identiteta, te kako se zamišljam.
(My ethnic belonging is an important part of my identity, and how I think of myself)
 - A. U potpunosti se slažem
 - B. Većinski se slažem

- C. Neutralan sam
- D. Većinski se ne slažem
- E. U potpunosti se ne slažem

3. Ponosan/na sam na svoju etničku grupu i njena postignuća.

(I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments)

- A. U potpunosti se slažem
- B. Većinski se slažem
- C. Neutralan sam
- D. Većinski se ne slažem
- E. U potpunosti se ne slažem

4. Trebao bi postojati razlicit plan i program za svaku etničku skupinu..

(There should be a different curricula for every ethnic group)

- A. Da
- B. Ne

5. Osjećam se blisko ostalim državljanima Bosne i Hercegovine.

(I feel close to other citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina)

- A. U potpunosti se slažem
- B. Većinski se slažem
- C. Neutralan sam
- D. Većinski se ne slažem
- E. U potpunosti se ne slažem

6. Imam jasnu predstavu o svojoj etničkoj pozadini i o tome šta mi ona znači.

(I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means to me)

- A. U potpunosti se slažem
- B. Većinski se slažem
- C. Neutralan sam
- D. Većinski se ne slažem
- E. U potpunosti se ne slažem

7. Mislim da mogu postati prijatelj sa pripadnicima drugih etničkih grupa, ali im ne mogu u potpunosti vjerovati.

(I feel like I can become friends with people from other ethnic groups, but I cannot fully trust them)

- A. U potpunosti se slažem
- B. Većinski se slažem
- C. Neutralan sam
- D. Većinski se ne slažem
- E. U potpunosti se ne slažem

8. Uživam u prisustvu ljudi iz drugih etničkih grupa.
(I enjoy being around people from ethnic groups other than my own)
A. U potpunosti se slažem
B. Većinski se slažem
C. Neutralan sam
D. Većinski se ne slažem
E. U potpunosti se ne slažem
9. Osjećam se ponosno što sam dio svoje etničke grupe.
(I feel proud to be a member of my ethnic group)
A. U potpunosti se slažem
B. Većinski se slažem
C. Neutralan sam
D. Većinski se ne slažem
E. U potpunosti se ne slažem
10. Često provodim vreme sa ljudima iz drugih etničkih grupa.
(I often spend time with people from ethnic groups other than my own)
A. U potpunosti se slažem
B. Većinski se slažem
C. Neutralan sam
D. Većinski se ne slažem
E. U potpunosti se ne slažem
11. Moje bosanskohercegovačko državljanstvo je važan dio mog identiteta, te kako se zamišljam.
(My Bosnian citizenship is an important part of my identity, of how I think of myself)
A. U potpunosti se slažem
B. Većinski se slažem
C. Neutralan sam
D. Većinski se ne slažem
E. U potpunosti se ne slažem
12. Osjećam jaku povezanost sa svojom etničkom grupom.
(I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group)
A. U potpunosti se slažem
B. Većinski se slažem
C. Neutralan sam
D. Većinski se ne slažem
E. U potpunosti se ne slažem
13. Trebao bi postojati univerzalni plan i program rada u školama.

(There should be some shared national curricula)

- C. Da
- D. Ne

14. Osjećam jaku pripadnost prema svom bosanskohercegovačkom državljanstvu.

(I feel a strong attachment towards my Bosnian citizenship)

- A. U potpunosti se slažem
- B. Većinski se slažem
- C. Neutralan sam
- D. Većinski se ne slažem
- E. U potpunosti se ne slažem

15. Ponekad mislim da bi bilo bolje kad se različite etničke grupe ne bi miješale.

(I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together)

- A. U potpunosti se slažem
- B. Većinski se slažem
- C. Neutralan sam
- D. Većinski se ne slažem
- E. U potpunosti se ne slažem

16. Volim upoznavati ljude iz drugih etničkih grupa.

(I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own)

- A. U potpunosti se slažem
- B. Većinski se slažem
- C. Neutralan sam
- D. Većinski se ne slažem
- E. U potpunosti se ne slažem

17. Moguće je uspostaviti saradnju između etničkih grupa, ali nikad potpuno povjerenje.

(Among ethnic groups, it is possible to create cooperation but never to fully trust)

- A. U potpunosti se slažem
- B. Većinski se slažem
- C. Neutralan sam
- D. Većinski se ne slažem
- E. U potpunosti se ne slažem

18. Nije mi baš jasna uloga etničke pripadnosti u mom životu.

(I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in my life)

- A. U potpunosti se slažem
- B. Većinski se slažem
- C. Neutralan sam
- D. Većinski se ne slažem

E. U potpunosti se ne slažem

19. Etnički odnosi u mom okruženju će se poboljšati ako se nacije razdvoje u teritorije koje pripadaju samo njima.

(Ethnic relations in my locality will improve when nationalities are separated into territories that belong only to them)

A. Da

B. Ne

20. Koliko vam je godina?

(How old are you?)

Popunite:_____

21. U etničkom pogledu, smatram da sam:

(In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be)

A. Hrvat/Hrvatica

B. Bošnjak/Bošnjakinja

C. Srbin/Srpkinja

D. Ostalo - popunite:

22. U vjerskom pogledu, smatram da sam:

(In terms of religion, I consider myself to be)

A. Katolik

B. Pravoslavac

C. Musliman

D. Nijedno

E. Ostalo-popunite:_____

23. . U pogledu državljanstva, smatram se:

(In terms of citizenship, I consider myself to be)

A. Bosanskohercegovačkim državljaninom

B. Hrvatskim državljaninom

C. Srpskim državljaninom

D. Ostalo - popunite:_____

24. Imam pasoš (zaokruži sve tačne odgovore):

(I have following passports – circle all that applies)

A. Bosne i Hercegovine

B. Hrvatske

C. Srbije

D. Ostalo - popunite:_____

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